THE

LABOUR MONTHLY

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

Volume 17 March, 1935 Number 3

PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

The Next Steps of the United Front
R. P. D.

The National Government in Retreat
WAL HANNINGTON

Fascism Drives to War
BERNARD SCHULTZ

The Indian Peasantry
JOAN BEAUCHAMP

The Meaning of Sydney Hook
L. RUDAS

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giving
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LABOUR
MONTHLY

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A DISCUSSION ON TRADE UNION PROBLEMS AND POLICY

The present situation in industry is bringing the problems and policy of trade unionism under review amongst all trade unionists. To provide an opportunity for the examination of these questions the LABOUR MONTHLY *is opening a discussion in succeeding issues. The following questions will be of use in guiding the discussion to which readers are invited to contribute.*

(1) **At the present time many Trade Unions are presenting demands for increased wages, and at the Trades Union Congress last September the Chairman, Mr. A. Conley, spoke of the need for co-ordination of the Trade Union forces. Do you believe such co-ordination is necessary? If so, what in your opinion are the first steps which should be taken towards that objective?**

(2) **What in your opinion should be the line of trade union policy in the present economic situation? What should be the demands of the active workers in the Trade Unions? Where a demand has been tabled for an advance in wages, what in your opinion are the steps which should be taken within the factories and the Unions in order to achieve that demand?**

(3) **What is your opinion of the circular of the Trades Union Congress General Council (on "disruptive movements"), proposing the revision of trade union constitutions with a view to excluding militant trade unionists from election to delegate or official positions? How will it affect trade union democracy and the building up of the Unions?**

(4) **What in your opinion should be the attitude of the Unions to such schemes of rationalisation as are being suggested for a number of industries, i.e. the Cotton Control Board, compulsory amalgamation in mining, etc.?**

(5) **What concrete steps do you think it is possible for the Trade Unions to take in order to prevent the development of Fascism in this country?**

(6) **What in your opinion should be the attitude of the Unions** (a) **as economic organs and** (b) **as affiliated bodies to the Labour Party towards the proposals for the formation of a United Front against Fascism and War which the Communist Party and the I.L.P. have made to the Labour Party, in view of the decision of the Labour and Socialist International to allow its affiliated sections freedom of action in this respect?**

Contributions should if possible be not more than 1,000 *words in length; of course shorter contributions will be welcome. In signing their reply readers are asked to add the name of their Union with official position if any.*

Readers are also urged to send in to the LABOUR MONTHLY *office* (7 *John Street, W.C.*1) *the names and addresses of any trade unionists in their area to whom an invitation to take part in this discussion might well be sent.*

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THE LABOUR MONTHLY

A Magazine of International Labour

VOLUME 17 MARCH, 1935 NUMBER 3

Editor: R. PALME DUTT

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I. Introductory Analysis

II. Report of Conference

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The Financial Position of the "Labour Monthly" for 1935

IN accordance with the practice begun in our issue of September, 1934, when we first launched our Special Appeal for support, we are now able to place the full information before our readers with regard to the circulation and financial position of the LABOUR MONTHLY on the basis of the completed results of 1934. In September, 1934, the figures published represented the first six months of 1934. On the basis of these facts we issued a Special Appeal to our readers for a Debt Fund to meet an accumulated debt of £480, and for a Guarantee Fund, to meet an existing monthly deficit of £29. We are now able to show the measure of improvement in the position by the end of 1934, consequent on the results of this special financial appeal during the last quarter of the year and on a further increase in circulation, but at the same time to show the urgent need still existing.

CIRCULATION

The total print of the LABOUR MONTHLY at the opening of 1935 now stands at 5,400 copies of each issue (as against 4,800 for the first six months of 1934). The average monthly return of unsold copies is 390, or 7.2 per cent.

The distribution of this circulation shows an increase, both in Britain and overseas, as follows (net sale figures, deducting returns):

	Jan., 1935.	*First six months,* 1934.	*Increase.*
Britain	3,399	3,120	279
America	770	738	32
Australasia ..	552	521	31
Europe	149	65	84
Africa	91	64	27
Asia	49	28	21
Total ..	5,010	4,536	474

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The circulation in Asia would be much higher, and has been in the past very much higher, but for the Government bans in India and Japan, which countries formerly took a considerable number of copies. The fight against the exclusion of British working-class literature from India is a very serious concern of the British working-class movement.

The overseas circulation of the LABOUR MONTHLY, reaching 1,611 copies or one third of the total, is a very valuable expression of the international character of our movement. But the main basis of circulation must necessarily lie in England, and it is to the British working-class movement above all that we appeal to develop the circulation of the LABOUR MONTHLY as a direct weapon of developing the militant class-conscious movement and understanding of Marxism.

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR 1934

The total income and expenditure of the LABOUR MONTHLY for the year 1934, summarised under the main items, is as follows :

INCOME.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Sales and Subscriptions	960	0	0	Printing, Binding and Paper	950	0	0
Advertisements ..	33	0	0	Premises, Lighting Heating, and Telephone ..	70	0	0
Guarantees (excluding £105 of Donations to Debt Fund) ..	142	0	0	Office Manager ..	160	0	0
Deficit	192	0	0	Distribution, Stationery and Postage ..	113	0	0
				Advertising and Publicity	34	0	0
	£1,327	0	0		£1,327	0	0

It will be seen that, though there is still a deficit, the figures show an improvement on the previously published figures of the year, June, 1933—June, 1934. The increase in sales by £115 has more than covered the increase in printing and paper costs, which are now fully paid by sales. Printing, binding and paper represent 72 per cent. of total costs, the rest representing expenses of distribution, account keeping and the office. No contributors to the LABOUR MONTHLY are paid, and the editorial work is conducted by a group of members of the working-class movement as a voluntary collective work.

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The net deficit, if we include the amount covered by guarantees and donations, shows a total of £334 or £28 a month (as against £29 a month in the last return). This £28 a month is the sum we need to try to cover by Guarantees, until such time as the LABOUR MONTHLY becomes self-supporting.

THE DEBT FUND AND GUARANTEE FUND

In September, 1934, we launched an appeal for two Funds: (1) a Debt Fund, to liquidate the accumulated debt, totalling £480; (2) a Guarantee Fund, or system of pledges from readers to pay a definite monthly sum in order to help to cover the current deficit.

The response to the Debt Fund, in the four months to the end of 1934, reached the encouraging total of £104 10s. 4d. In view of the very heavy parallel demands on readers at the present time, this is a very creditable initial response, for which we wish to express our thanks and appreciation to all who have contributed, often at heavy personal sacrifice. Unfortunately, the difference still existing between the total so far of the Guarantee Fund and the current monthly deficit, adds a lesser amount of new debt at the same time as we are liquidating the old. The net diminution of debt is thus less than the total raised; and the net debt at the opening of 1935 stands at £443.

The Guarantee Fund had reached by the end of 1934 a total of £13 1s. 11d., and by this month £15 12s. 5d. There thus remains £12 7s. a month to raise in order to cover the existing deficit.

OUR APPEAL

We have placed the full facts before our readers without adornment or concealment. On this basis we appeal for a redoubled effort of support, with full confidence in the response of our readers and in their judgment that the work the LABOUR MONTHLY is achieving, and can achieve, is worthy of support. The LABOUR MONTHLY has no sources of support outside its readers. By the further development of circulation, and in part by the winning of advertisements, we shall hope to make the LABOUR MONTHLY eventually self-supporting; but this goal will involve heavy work, and it is necessary to face the difficulties

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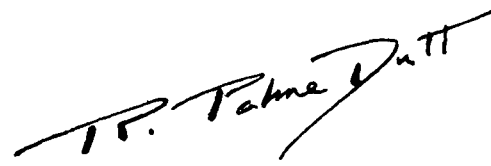
which inevitably confront a political theoretical journal of this type.

We appeal accordingly to all our readers for

(1) pledges of £12 7s. a month for the Guarantee Fund, to make up the total of £28 a month ;

(2) donations to the Debt Fund to wipe out the present net debt of £443.

Current acknowledgments are given below, together with a form (see opposite inside front cover) for making donations or guarantees. We ask all readers to treat this appeal as one of urgency.



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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	£	s.	d.
Previously acknowledged	112	0	4
Anonymous, Worthing..	1	0	2
M. C. Moss, London, N.W.	0	2	6
A Group of Luton Comrades, per C.G.K. ..	1	1	0
A Foreign Student ..	0	6	0
E. C. and I. P. ..	0	17	6
G. Renshaw, London ..	0	3	0
J. Zeigler, Pa., U.S.A. ..	0	2	0
Scarborough Reader ..	0	2	6
A. B. C., London ..	0	5	0
E. S., Stockport ..	0	2	6
Collecting Card per G.A.H.	0	12	6
A. J. W., Watford ..	0	2	0
C. B. Tyler, South Africa	0	19	6
Mrs. Rowan, Leigh-on-Sea	0	2	0
S., E.C.1	0	1	0
R. C. Campbell, Vancouver	0	8	1
Mrs. B., N.W.1 ..	0	3	0
A Group of Cypriot Readers, London ..	0	10	0
Carried forward	£119	0	7

DEBT FUND (*Continued*).

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	119	0	7
"A," London, S.W. ..	0	2	6
S. Davies, S. Wales ..	0	10	0
Anonymous, London, N.	10	0	0
	£129	13	1

GUARANTEE FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Previous Guarantees ..	5	18	4
Guarantees acknowledged			
(October) ..	3	7	0
(November) ..	1	9	0
(December) ..	1	8	0
(January) ..	0	19	0
(February) ..	2	6	6
F. E. Love, S.W.19 ..	0	2	6
H. Campbell, Vancouver	0	2	1
	£15	12	5

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

United Front Advance—Power of Mass Movement—Labour Party Rôle—After the Battle—" All Sections "—Sheffield—Bourgeois Panic-Talk—Economic Setback—Lloyd George Campaign—Lloyd George and Fascism—Diehards and Fascism—Towards Fascist Concentration —South Wales' Lead for United Front —Problems of Organisation—Next Issues of Struggle—Future Election Questions—Rising Battle.

THE United Front has won its first victories—and the whole political situation is becoming transformed. The wave of mass revolt against the new unemployment scales, leading to the confusion and temporary retreat of the National Government in the beginning of February, is the biggest development in Britain since Invergordon and the fights of the autumn of 1931. The significance of this development is first, that it has been directly led by the new united front leadership, by the Communist Party, Independent Labour Party, National Unemployed Workers' Movement and the local working-class organisations, in the face of the open opposition of the Labour Party leadership (the Labour Party leaders only coming out to voice " public opinion " at each stage after the fight was over and the victory had been won) ; second, that it has for the first time since the establishment of the National Government in 1931 shaken the position of the National Government, despite all its overwhelming parliamentary majority, and compelled the beginning of a retreat, with the corresponding gain of enormous confidence to the working class ; and third, that this advance of the mass struggle is having big repercussions on the whole economic political situation in Britain (setback to the capitalist " recovery " hopes, Conservative revolt, new Lloyd George manœuvres, preparation for National Government " reconstruction "), which open

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the outlook to far-reaching changes and shifting of forces in the near future. *The united front is advancing, and we need already to be looking forward to the next stages of the fight.* The success of the Communist Party Congress, with its demonstration of strength and closeness to the mass movement ; the great South Wales United Front Conference on January 26, with its 1,600 delegates ; the similar united front conferences all over the country (illustrated also in the splendid response to the LABOUR MONTHLY United Front Conference, reported elsewhere in this issue) : all these are signs of the times and of the advance of the movement. We are entering into a new stage of the mass fight against capitalism, against the National Government and against Fascism.

THE *Power of the Mass Movement*—that is the first and biggest fact about the events which have signalised the opening of 1935 in Britain. The new unemployment scales were announced in December, 1934. On January 3, 1935, was issued the joint call of the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party to united front struggle against the new attack. On January 7 the new Unemployment Assistance Board, of men drawing salaries of many thousands a year to cut down the shillings of the starving unemployed, took over, and the new scales came into force. The old already barest subsistence poor law scales were slashed right and left ; the family means test (*i.e.*, the system of throwing the burden of the maintenance of the unemployed on to the low paid employed workers, in order to save the pockets of the rich) was enforced with a ruthlessness hitherto unequalled. The mass struggle against this most brutal attack of the National Government broke out with overwhelming force over the whole country ; demonstrations and marches took place, of 60,000 in the Rhondda, of 40,000 in Dowlais, of 20,000 in Glasgow, of 20,000 in Pontypridd, of 30,000 in Aberdare, of 10,000 in North Shields, culminating in the great South Wales united front conference, under the auspices of the South Wales Miners' Federation, with 1,600 delegates and revealing the rising drive

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to strike action on a national scale. The South Wales Conference took place on January 26. On January 28 the House of Commons—the same House of Commons which had complacently passed the Unemployment Act in 1934 and sanctioned the new Board as taking unemployment relief " out of politics " revealed a sudden " stirring " of the " people's representatives " in a carefully staged united outcry of Conservative M.P.s, Liberal M.P.s and Labour M.P.s against the new regulations. On January 29 the Goverment announced its intention to make concessions. The mass agitation grew in force. On February 5 the Government announced the complete temporary suspension of the new scales ; " the interim system would not be legal, but would be covered by an Act of Indemnity." Immediately after, there followed the second stage of the fight, led by Sheffield. The Government sought still to enforce the new scales for one week further. The Sheffield workers fought ; when the Sheffield majority Labour Council refused to receive the workers' deputation, they surrounded the Town Hall ; the police charged the workers, making wholesale arrests ; but within twenty-four hours of that struggle the Government sanctioned the immediate application of the new standstill order to Sheffield, and thereafter was compelled to extend it to the whole country. *Never was there a clearer demonstration of the power of mass action to override all constitutional forms.* The fight is not over, but only begun ; the Government is still endeavouring to go back on its promises and maintain modified forms of the cuts in one way or another ; Part II. of the Unemployment Act is still on the Statute Book ; but the path of the workers' struggle to victory has already been shown.

WHERE was the Labour Party leadership in this glorious fight of the British working class ? Where was the Trades Union Congress General Council ? The record stands plain for all to see. Right through January the workers fought alone—in face of the ban of the Labour Party and T.U.C. General Council. Turn to the *Labour Magazine* for February, prepared in mid-January. There is not one word on the fight against the Unemployment Assistance Board and the new

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scales. Turn to the *Labour Woman* for February. The editorial remarks placidly with regard to the new scales that "the new scheme for the stabilisation of poverty is working according to plan" (not much "according to plan" by the time the workers had got moving, when the journal appeared); it recounts piteous cases reported to it: "these cases are typical," What is the conclusion? A call to action? To fight the new attack? To defeat it? On the contrary. The conclusion peacefully urges that "it may be argued that it is not fair to judge the new scheme so soon," but that "the future will certainly confirm what is already pretty clear: that no halfway house will ever be satisfactory." No hint of action, no hint of struggle, no hint of the bare possibility of defeating the new attack.

ONLY *after* the mass struggle had fought through the battle without them, after the Communists and the I.L.P., whose call to the united front for the fight in the beginning of January they had refused, had led the battle, *after even Conservative* M.P.s and Liberal M.P.s under the power of the mass pressure had raised their protest on January 28 against the new regulations, *after the Government* on January 29 had announced its retreat, only then on February 1 the National Council of Labour came out with its solemn Manifesto to "all well disposed citizens" to concern themselves with "this lamentable state of affairs": "the Bishop of Malmesbury has said . . . a great and generous nation like ours . . . undermining some of the most sacred traditions of our land . . . to remove this blot from our national reputation," and similar nauseating servilities, in place of leadership of the struggle.

MORE than this. On January 29 Lansbury, leader of the Labour Party, under the impetus of the mass movement fell for a moment into older phraseology, forgot Southport, forgot the sacred bans and vetoes, forgot the Bishop of Malmesbury, and let slip the declaration that "*we hope that all sections of the British Labour Movement will unite*" against "the wholesale starvation of men, women,

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and children." What did this mean? What was the meaning of the demand that "all sections" should "unite"? Swiftly on the heels of this declaration, on January 30 the Communist Party and I.L.P. wrote to the Labour Party, on the basis of this declaration of the leader of the Labour Party, to

> Urge at this critical moment of the history of the working class to make this need for united action the major consideration. We on our part will do everything possible to remove any barriers that can stand in the way of our coming together.

On January 31 came the reply of the Labour Party that "it was decided that no action should be taken thereon." And on February 1 came the Manifesto "to all leaders of public opinion . . . in no partisan spirit" (*i.e.*, the call for the united front with the bourgeoisie in place of the united front of the working class).

THEN followed Sheffield. The Sheffield workers found themselves faced, not only with the police and the National Government, but with the majority Labour Council which refused to receive their deputation. The battle of the Sheffield workers, which won the victory for the whole country, was fought in the face of the open opposition of the official Labour leadership. "The march . . . had not the sanction of the official Labour Movement" (*Daily Herald*, February 7, 1935). On February 7 came the surrender of the Government. On February 8 followed the second Manifesto of the National Council of Labour, published in the press of February 9, that "demonstrations are being organised in all parts of the country under the auspices of the National Council of Labour . . . the Council take the view that pressure must be maintained upon the Government." What is this rôle save at every stage, first to hinder and ban the actual struggle, and then, when the battle has been fought and won in spite of their opposition, to come out with a loud crowing and songs of victory, in the hope to hinder the next stage of the struggle? This is the situation which the rank-and-file workers must change, if the full force of the working class is to be thrown into the struggle.

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NO less important was the effect on the bourgeoisie of this advance of the mass struggle. The effect was most sharply revealed in the universal slogan "No Panic" which was sounded in the entire bourgeois press during the second week of February. The demoralisation of the Government reached its height on the critical day, February 8, when the puppet Prime Minister was compelled to declare that, with regard to the retreat of the Government, "he only knew about it when he opened his newspaper" and that he "had been trying all the morning to get into touch" with his own Minister, *i.e.*, the Conservative Government in action had no time to waste on its "National Labour" façade. The governmental *Times* was compelled to comment on "the impression of lack of cohesion, lack of decision and lack of calm" as highly "unfortunate" (*Times* editorial on "Revision without Panic," February 11, 1935). Two days later the theme of "panic" returns:

> The breakdown of the regulations suggests the need for fresh resolution rather than for panic. Nevertheless, panic has raised it head. (*Times*, February 13, 1935.)

Sterling and British securities slumped. The simultaneous revelations of the speculation crisis, the announcement of the increase of unemployment by a quarter of a million, and the Wavertree by-election, with the powerful Conservative revolt and consequent return of the Labour candidate, who publicly stated that "the triumph of Labour was a reflection of the tremendous volume of protest aroused throughout the country by the Unemployment Assistance Board regulations," all combined

> To fray people's nerves and to weaken confidence. Rumours were set going which in an exaggerated form were circulated very widely on the Continent. . . . They came at a time when the unfortunate trouble over unemployment relief and the outcry which it provoked, together with the result of the Wavertree election, had created a background which made it easier for them to gain credence. (*Times*, February 14, 1935.)

Next day the *Times* was again compelled to note

> Recent signs of a decline of confidence in the continuation of industrial recovery and of British credit. . . . The fall in British

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> Government securities on the Stock Exchange reflects nervousness both at home and abroad.

World opinion was beginning to form the "illusion" that

> "Once again Great Britain is on the verge of catastrophe. *Sauve qui peut.*" (*Times*, February 15, 1935.)

THE advance of the mass struggle coincided with a new stage in the economic crisis. The setback to the very limited "recovery" had already been manifest since the second half of 1934. Industrial production in the capitalist world as a whole for the entire year 1934 was already 24 per cent. below the level of 1929, while in the Soviet Union it was 239 per cent. above the level of 1929 (Molotov at the Seventh Soviet Congress). But the second half of 1934 began to reveal a new downward trend. For the prospect of 1935 the Federation of British Industries business forecast drew the gloomy conclusion that

> The "prosperity phase" of the present short-run business cycle is drawing to its close even in countries which, like Japan, have received the most benefit from the period of recovery. It is thought that efforts during the coming year are likely to be increasingly directed to measures for maintaining the general level of activity by such means as Government-promoted schemes of work and financial assistance, and various devices of an inflationary money character. In regard to the former, it is observed that there is abundant evidence to show that, in general, public works can never be set going on a substantial scale ; in regard to the latter, that, while it is certainly true that inflation can for a time maintain prosperity, in the long run it invariably brings its own nemesis of loss.

The Journal of the Associated Chambers of Commerce for January reported a "slackening off" in the rate of trade improvement :

> He would be a rash man who ventured to predict for 1935 more than the maintenance of the existing position with some slowing down of the rate of advance as the impetus given to home trades by tariffs becomes more remote . . . and the situation to-day does not inspire one to deny the immediate possibility of such a setback.

The speculative forces behind the previous minor "boom" were partially revealed in the "pepper crisis" at the beginning

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of February, exposing some of the principal heads of finance-capital as engaged in disreputable transactions, even by the standards of capitalist ethics, to rake in gamblers' profits behind the façade of National Government "recovery." On January 28 the unemployment figure revealed an increase of 240,000 on the previous month, a rate of increase only partially explained by seasonal causes, and resulting in a total of 2,325,273, or within 63,000 of January, 1934. At the same time the suspension of the new cuts is stated to be expected to cost at the rate of £4,500,000 to £5,000,000 a year; it had thus been expected to extract this further amount from the unemployed (under cover of the lying promises of giving an additional £3,000,000 a year), and this money has now to be found, with the consequent sharpened problem for the State finances, in view of the steeply mounting armaments demands. *In view of this it is certain that, behind the temporary enforced retreat, the National Government will fight hard to re-impose the cuts in one form or another, and that new struggles are in front.*

IT is against this background that the new political moves in the bourgeois camp take on their significance. These moves are characterised by (1) the Lloyd George campaign; (2) the right wing Conservative revolt; (3) the preparations for a "reconstruction" of the National Government. What is common to all these moves? Their common characteristic is *preparation for an intensified phase of class struggle, and consequent alternative plans to strengthen the bourgeios front.* It should be noted that the Lloyd George campaign has already passed through two entirely distinct phases, before the present intensified stage of class struggle, and after. When the "Plan" was originally announced with a flourish of trumpets in December, it was directed entirely and openly to the Labour Party and a prospective Labour-Liberal alliance. Significant of this was the fact that the original announcements and special interviews were exclusive to the *Daily Herald* and *News-Chronicle*. In his interview with the *Daily Herald* (December 15, 1934), Lloyd George appealed for "a Government of the Left," put the "Nationalisation" of the Bank of England in the foreground

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(" the Bank of England must become a real State bank "), and declared :

> Labour will win a big victory at the next General Election. . . . Here is as much work as any Government of the Left can do in five years. Why can't we get together to do it ?

Equally significant was the original warm welcome given in the first days by official Labour expression. When the first sign of the new move was made by his speech in Parliament on December 13,

> Mr. Lloyd George sat down amid Labour cheering that was loud and warm. (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, December 21, 1934.)

The *Daily Herald* editorial (December 15, 1934), found that he was only saying what " the leaders of the Labour Party have been saying for a long time " :

> The main thing is that so far as can be seen Mr. Lloyd George on one essential is in full accord with the Labour Party

Lansbury in his speech at Mitcham on December 15 stated :

> If Mr. Lloyd George and his friends want to help replan, help us to reorganise British industry and get back the land and the minerals of the country into the hands of the whole nation, we shall welcome their help. (*Daily Herald*, December 17, 1934.)

BUT in January developed the new intensified phase of class struggle, with the advance of the united working-class front. At once the tone of Lloyd George changed. When the campaign opened with the Bangor speech on January 17, an entirely different note was sounded. The nationalisation of the Bank of England disappeared. The call was now given for (1) " a much stronger line " in foreign policy ; (2) " ruthless " use of tariffs ; (3) a War Cabinet : " I would restore the principle of the old War Cabinet " ; (4) utilisation of " the immense opportunities offered by our Colonial Empire " ; (5) a " Prosperity Loan " and National Investment Board, but no nationalisation of the Joint Stock Banks. In place of the advocacy of " a Government of the Left," the demand was now for an efficient " National Government " : " I will support a National Government as long as it grapples effectively with the national emergency " (Birmingham speech, January 26). The warmest welcome now came from Conservative and Fascist circles, and

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the intrigues developed to include Lloyd George in the National Government. In this quick change-over of the canny chameleon, Lloyd George, may be seen reflected the change-over of influential forces of bourgeois opinion from the hopes of deluding the workers by a reform programme through a Labour or Liberal-Labour Government succeeding the present Government, to recognition of the dangerous awakening united struggle of the workers and the consequent determination instead to strengthen the united bourgeois front or "National" front. This issue cannot yet be regarded as decided in the bourgeois camp; further manœuvres and shiftings may be expected, including of Lloyd George.

EVEN more direct is the significance of the growth of the Right Conservative revolt. The gathering fight against the leadership of Baldwin takes on a certain resemblance to the old successful fight against the leadership of Balfour in the pre-war period, just as the attack on the principle of Coalition resembles the old successful offensive against the Coalition in 1922. There could be no greater mistake than to under-estimate the strength of the Right Conservatives, because they appear at the moment still in a minority. If their rôle is carefully analysed throughout the imperialist epoch (the overthrow of Balfour, the Ulster revolt, the overthrow of the Coalition in 1922, etc.), it will be seen that they have repeatedly and increasingly had their way and proved themselves the driving force of modern Conservatism, that is, of the almost monopolist party of the modern bourgeoisie. The diehards are no longer merely the camp of the old decaying landlord-aristocratic-military reaction. To-day they are supplemented by the most aggressive forces of modern finance-capital, by a Churchill, leading the international White Guard, by a Lloyd, embodying British imperialist rule, by a Rothermere, with his jingo press octopus, and on the outer wing, but in close relations with all these, by a Mosley and the open Fascists. India is only the key centre (for British Imperialism, the typical and inevitable key centre), of a deeper fight, a fight against all parliamentary-democratic institutions and for intensified dictatorship. At

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the Bristol Conference of the Conservative Party last autumn the Churchill-Lloyd leadership won 520 votes against 543 for the Government. It is true that at the December Special Conference the Government succeeded in carrying the Joint Select Committee's Report by 1,102 to 390 (revealing a rock-bottom strength for the right wing of 26 per cent.), but this was only after all the essence of their demands had in reality been granted by the enormous strengthening of the "safeguards." The parliamentary vote on the second reading of the India Bill still showed 79 Conservatives voting against the Government (plus 3 pairing against the Government, or a total of 82). The Wavertree election showed 10,535 voting for the Right Conservatives, even at the cost of letting Labour in, against 13,771 for the official Conservative. All these signs are a portent of the advance to Fascism in Britain.

THE significance of the moves to a "reconstruction" of the National Government thus stand out clearly. Between the apparent direct opposition of the different camps on this question lies a basic unity of policy. One wing seeks reconstruction by the inclusion of Lloyd George, that is, by strengthening the coalition or "national" character of the National Government. The other wing, on the contrary, represented by the Right Conservatives and Rothermere, seeks to replace the existing coalition by an open Conservative Government, with the inclusion of Churchill and the Right Conservatives. Yet in both cases the basic objective is the same—to strengthen the bourgeois front against the rising united working-class front. The Fascists, Rothermere, Churchill and Lloyd hunt in a pack together. But the Fascists at the same time openly applaud Lloyd George ("Whither Lloyd George? Will he march in the Spirit of the Modern Age? . . . the first steps on the road towards Fascist conclusions"—*Blackshirt*, December 21, 1934). Lloyd George openly points to the Nazi Government as the model, just as Lloyd George openly defended the Fascists at Olympia. Thus the formal difference between the two lines of reconstruction is only the

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difference between two alternative (and not in the end necessarily incompatible) methods of strengthening and concentrating the bourgeois front. *Both alike point with increasing clearness along the Fascist road, to which the British bourgeoisie is moving with increasing consciousness.*

WHAT, then, must be the answer of the working class to this increasingly open Fascist line of development of the bourgeoisie? *There can be only one answer. That answer is the united working-class front.* The advance of the united working-class front in the past two months, both in the process of the struggle and within the lower working-class organisations, is enormous. But the central machine of the National Labour Council still seeks to block the way; and in consequence the organised strength of the great mass organisations of the working class is not yet brought into the struggle. Only in South Wales has the effective united front of all working-class organisations, without distinction, come close to complete realisation, smashing all bans; and the resultant tremendous advance for the whole working class has been manifest throughout the country. In South Wales the leaders of the Labour Party and of the trade unions are finding themselves compelled to speak on one platform with the Communists; the paper writs of Transport House are crumbling against the mighty rock of working-class solidarity. But this smashing of the bans needs to be achieved throughout the country. South Wales is once again leading, as many times in British working-class history. *South Wales has shown the way for the whole country. What has been achieved in South Wales needs to be achieved throughout Britain.*

THE demand for nation-wide organisation of the united front spreads apace. It was noticeable that at the London United Front Conference convened by the LABOUR MONTHLY on January 26, and representing 257 delegates from local Labour Parties, trade unions, co-operatives and political working-class organisations, as well as student and cultural organisations, the demand was widely expressed for definite

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organising steps, and for the election of a provisional committee already at this limited conference to organise the campaign, draw in the local Labour Parties, trade unions, co-operatives and other organisations, and link up with similar committees throughout the country ; and there was some impatience expressed at the insistence on the necessity first to build up the united front in the localities. These questions will be further considered at the Second United Front Conference which it was unanimously decided by the January Conference to recommend to be held in the near future, with mandated delegates. The existence of this strong demand for further organising steps is an important sign of the times. Undoubtedly we cannot be satisfied to remain on the basis of the local organisation of the united front, with occasional conferences. We need to advance to the future nation-wide all-embracing united front, to the future anti-Fascist Front, which shall combine the mass of the workers with all militant anti-fascist elements, and constitute the unconquerable bulwark against Fascism. For this purpose we need to be already organising provisionally in all the districts of the country, as is already being done in many districts and areas through united front conferences and Unity Committees. But we need at the same time to beware of allowing the aim of the united front to be replaced by any sectional, isolated national organisation, representing only a minority, and only playing into the hands of Transport House and its bans. Our aim is to win the mass of the workers to the united struggle. For this reason our essential task at the present stage is to build the united working-class front in the localities and in the process of the struggle, not merely in the sense of drawing together delegates from organisations, but in the sense of drawing the mass of the workers into common struggle, and at the same time building mass anti-fascist formations in the localities. The experience of France has shown the fruitfulness of this path of advance. On this basis, as the movements develops, we shall overcome all obstacles and advance to the nation-wide all-embracing united front.

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THE present issues of the struggle in the period immediately ahead confront us with all urgency. In the forefront stands the fight against Part II. of the Unemployment Act. The Government is preparing, under cover of the temporary suspension, to issue new regulations on the same basic principles, and to fight for them ; is indeed already whittling away the effects of the promised suspension by subsequent rulings, as on the question of supplementary allowances. The call to the future fight is openly sounded in the Minister of Labour's declaration that "the regulations are sound in principle," as in the *Times*' warning (February 11, 1935).

> There is clearly a danger that *when the time comes for the amended regulations to be presented, they will be greeted with a similar outcry*, however much they may be proof against legitimate criticism, at a time when the Government will certainly not find agitation any easier to resist. . . . Pressure directed to the abolition of a Means Test must be firmly resisted.

This new and wider stage of the battle is opened by the February 24 demonstrations. At the same time we cannot afford to leave out of view the parallel phases of the Government's attack, which have been temporarily held up by the strength of the workers' resistance, in particular, the "Shorter Hours" attack, or proposed system of wage-sharing between employed and unemployed workers' in the name of "shorter hours," as foreshadowed by the Government's interview with the Trades Union Congress General Council on January 24. In the words of Hudson, the Parliamentary Secretary of Labour :

> What we think ought to be done in this country is to see, industry by industry, whether it is possible to shorten hours without reducing wages, and *if it is not possible to do it without reducing wages, to see what sacrifices* the employers or the men respectively are prepared to make.

With this may be compared the semi-official statement on behalf of the Ministry in the *Times* of January 9 :

> It is recognised that industries which encounter international competition in neutral markets will not be able to bear the increase in working costs ; that a reduction in working time without reduction of wages would entail. When, therefore, the first aspect of the question has been considered, the Minister will next enquire whether,

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> if it is impossible to pay the same wages for less working time without loss, the employers and the workpeople would be prepared *to make sacrifices in order to increase the numbers employed.*

It is certain that, as the setback to the "recovery" illusions becomes pronounced, it will be followed by an intensified capitalist attack in the whole economic field, alongside the intensified attack in the political field (preparations for press censorship, etc.). This can only be met by the resistance of the united working-class front.

ALONGSIDE this developing fight we need to prepare for the future electoral fight. Our aim is to bring the united front fight into the elections, to make the united front fight the centre of the electoral fight. For this it is necessary to prepare beforehand, and not after the elections are announced. In every constituency the workers need to come together. Where there are Communist candidates, who are already fighting for the united front, it is necessary to strengthen preparations now (remembering that we have not the same financial resources as the Government parties to conduct an intensive propaganda campaign in the last weeks of an election, and therefore everything depends on the previous preparation), in order to return a body of tried Communist fighters to the next Parliament to transform the character of the fight in Parliament and combine with it the fight outside. At the same time here are already 450 Labour candidates in the field. It is necessary to bombard every one of these Labour candidates and the local parties with the call to enter into the united front fight and to adopt a united front platform for the elections ; where there is resistance, it is necessary to work to change the candidates in order to ensure that the election fight shall be on the basis of the united front. Our aim must be to transform the election fight from a reformist Labour fight on the basis of the Southport programme to a united front fight on a united front platform of working-class policy, against capitalism and the National Government, for the demands of the working class, and on this basis to utilise the elections to carry forward the united working-class struggle.

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"WE are on the eve of great events, of great struggles." This declaration of the Manifesto of the Communist Party Congress will be abundantly justified by the coming period. Abroad we are faced by the hastening war preparations, by the now universal acceptance of German re-armament, the closer German-Japanese-Polish alliance against the Soviet Union, and the schemes of British Imperialism to further this policy through the London agreement. The gathering of the forces of the working class has been shown in the February 12 demonstrations in Austria, and in the new united front agreement at last reached in Germany. In Britain the National Government is heavily shaken by the worsening economic situation and by the rising wave of working-class resistance. The attack of capitalism under these conditions becomes intensified, not because the capitalists are stronger, but because they become ever more conscious of the rising contradictions with which they are faced. In this situation the united working-class front is with growing triumphs demonstrating the path forward, for the massing of all the forces of the workers for the fight and the preparation of the future revolutionary struggles. After the first conflicts of the opening of the present year, after the first demonstrations of the power of the mass movement, we can go forward with the greater confidence ; for the path of advance is clear before us.

R. P. D.

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THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN RETREAT

By WAL HANNINGTON

(*Leader, National Unemployed Workers' Movement.*)

ON January 7th, 1935, Part II. of the 1934 Unemployment Act commenced to operate. On February 5th the Government suspended its operation, because of the tremendous storm of mass demonstrations which had swept the country under the leadership of the N.U.W.M. against the terrible conditions imposed upon the unemployed and employed workers by the operation of this Act.

Probably this is the first time in history that a Government in less than a month from the operation of an Act of Parliament is compelled to suspend its own legislation.

In making the announcement in the House of Commons on February 5th of the " standstill " order, the Minister of Labour, Mr. Oliver Stanley, declared that the cuts would be immediately restored and would be paid retrospectively, but, he stated, that restoration would not be possible until the weekend of February 15th.

On February 6th a great demonstration of 35,000 Sheffield workers marched on to the City Hall to demand that the Public Assistance Committee immediately make up the cuts. They declared that their families were starving and that they could not wait until the 15th. The Sheffield City Council is a Labour Council. The workers' deputation asked for a meeting with the chairman of the Public Assistance Committee, Mr. Asprey. This request for an interview was refused and the police were then brought in to throw the deputation out of the City Hall. The workers immediately roused to action to protect their deputation and a terrific battle lasting for nearly three hours took place on the streets of Sheffield between the workers and the police. The responsibility for this battle clearly rests upon the bureaucratic Labour City Council that asked for the workers' votes in Municipal Elections and then refuses, when elected, to hear their grievances.

The fierceness with which the Sheffield workers fought back on the streets struck alarm into the hearts of the Local Authorities and the National Government, and within 12 hours the National Government had to give sanction for the cuts immediately to be restored by P.A.C.

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allowances. This gave further impetus to the workers throughout the country in the fight for the restoration of the cuts, and within 24 hours the Government had to agree that such restoration by P.A.C. allowances should be allowed to operate throughout the whole country. But this restoration was, according to capitalist procedure, actually unlawful because Part II. of the Unemployment Act still stands on the Statute Book. It therefore became necessary for the Government to introduce a special Bill known as an " Enabling Bill " in order to put themselves right with the law and to recognise the restoration as legal, but the restoration was actually made before the Enabling Bill was introduced. This is an important point for the workers to remember, when the constitutionalists try to combat demands of the workers by saying it is against the law.

The Background of the Retreat

Now, let us consider the position prior to the development of this great struggle which has driven the Government into retreat. Before January 7 the capitalist press conducted a steady deceitful propaganda directed towards allaying the workers' suspicions and deliberately giving the impression that Part II. of the Unemployment Act meant definite improvements in the standards of the unemployed. In fact on December 17, 1934, in the House of Commons, Mr. Oliver Stanley, Minister of Labour, stated " we are providing a scale of assistance which is much more generous than that given by the vast majority of Public Assistance Committees throughout the country."

Even on January 18, when already tens of thousands of workers had already had terrific cuts in their standards as the first to be assessed, we have the mountebank, Ramsay MacDonald, speaking in his constituency—Seaham Harbour—and saying : " Sacrifices have been made by the workers in the past, but I hope you have come to the end of these sacrifices. . . . . Certainly as far as this Government is concerned, you have."

The *Daily Herald* helps in this propaganda to deceive the workers. On the 14 November, 1934, they had an article on Part II, with a splash heading which read : " Rents Grant to the Workless," and so they endeavoured to create the impression that the unemployed were going to have their rents paid for them in the new Act.

On the day when the details of Part II. were published by the Government, the *Daily Herald* leading article congratulated the Government on the scheme and said that it was much better than they had expected.

On January 23, 1935, when all over the country the standards of the unemployed families were being smashed down by amounts as high as 38s. per week, the *Daily Herald* leading article very tamely criticises the cuts, but made no call for action against them and ended up by saying :

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" As a whole, we believe that the officials of the Unemployment Assistance Board will do their job properly. It is of the utmost importance that they should."

Labour and Trade Union Leadership Sabotage All Action

Now the whole record of the National Leadership of the Labour Party in regard to this Act has been a most scandalous one. Right from the very introduction of the new Unemployment Bill into the House of Commons in 1933, the National Labour Party Executive and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress have done their utmost to sabotage all militant action against this measure led by the N.U.W.M. and the National Congress and March Council.

When the great National Hunger March of 1934 compelled the National Government to restore the 1931 Economy cuts to the unemployed on Statutory Benefit, this same Labour Party leadership, that did its utmost to discourage local Labour Parties from associating with the March, had the impudence to state that the restoration of the cuts was due to their work. But what was their work ? Nothing more than strictly constitutional parliamentary debate, and particularly weak at that.

Even when the new Unemployment Act was forced through by the National Government and placed on the Statute Book in July, 1934, the General Council of the T.U.C. and the National Labour Party leadership did not a single thing to arouse the workers in the country to action against this Act. When they had been faced with the demand for action on the part of the workers they have eagerly sought to excuse themselves and to hold the workers back from struggle by declaring that this National Government is so firmly entrenched with such a huge majority in the House of Commons that nothing can be done until the workers change this at the next General Election. They have denounced any possibility of the workers achieving anything by mass action outside of Parliament. Some have even gone so far as publicly to tell the workers that they are getting what they deserve for having elected a National Government and not the Labour Government ; so they excuse their own treachery to the struggle of the working class.

Many of these Labour leaders are now protesting that they did not understand that Part II. of the Unemployment Act would be so serious. Such an admission is in itself a condemnation of them. If the National Unemployed Workers' Movement understood the seriousness of this measure and conducted as they have done the persistent fight against it, why can the Labour Party leadership not understand its seriousness ? The plain fact is that they do not want to lead any struggle against it. In their own hearts they hope that its serious effects upon the workers will be turned to Labour Party advantage in the next General Election.

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The capture of seats in Parliament is to them far more important than any resistance to starvation which the workers are suffering now.

Take the attitude of the General Council of the T.U.C. to the present situation. The Ninth National Conference of the N.U.W.M. held in December, 1934, realising the very critical position facing the workers under Part II. of the Unemployment Act, decided to send a resolution to the T.U.C. General Council urging that they receive a delegation from the N.U.W.M. to discuss this serious position and its effect upon both employed and unemployed, and to take steps to unite the struggle of the workers for resistance to this Act.

Here is the reply that we received to this urgent and sincere appeal. Replying to the correspondence of the National Conference of the N.U.W.M., Mr. Citrine said:

> Dear Sir,—I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th December, forwarding resolution passed by your Organisation at its Conference held in Derby from the 8th to the 10th December.
>
> Acting under instructions, I have to inform you that I cannot, in future, reply to communications from your Organisation.
>
> Yours faithfully,
>
> WALTER M. CITRINE, General Secretary.
>
> 14 December, 1934.

Now not only does the T.U.C. reject the overtures for the united front made by the N.U.W.M., but they make that rejection a thousand times worse by themselves doing absolutely nothing against the Act. The N.U.W.M., however, realise that this reply from Citrine does not express the views of the millions of sincere rank and file trade unionists throughout this country. Nothing has more clearly demonstrated this fact than the tremendous response which the employed workers have made in this struggle along with the unemployed in the great demonstration throughout the country during January and February. In spite ot the deliberate sabotage of Citrine and the General Council of the T.U.C., employed trade unionists have not only joined in the demonstrations against the Act, but throughout South Wales coalfield in particular the cry has gone up for a 24 hours' stoppage of work in the pits and the closing down of all shops for 24 hours to compel the Government to withdraw Part II. of the Act completely.

Masses of Workers Act in Unity

The great mass movement of the workers which has been made possible by the persistent work and struggles of the N.U.W.M. has swept past the Citrines and the Hendersons, and we have seen the most rapid development of the united front in action in the localities and districts that we have ever known in this country.

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District trade union and Labour leaders who formerly were prepared just to follow the orders of Transport House have by the mass pressure of the workers in their districts been compelled to choose between going forward with the workers or standing aside and becoming discredited. The result is that district and local trade union and labour leaders are for the first time speaking on the public platform with N.U.W.M. speakers, Communist speakers and other militants, yet even so in the midst of the great struggle, when it must be clear to the T.U.C. General Council that the whole country is rising, they content themselves with issuing on February 2 a miserable statement entitled: "An appeal to the Public Conscience." This appeal says not a single word about action, but simply asks public speakers, dignitaries of the church, etc., to express themselves on platform and pulpit against the Act. This is the measure of their leadership at the very moment when hundreds of thousands of workers in every district are marching.

Why the Action and How to Press Home the Victory

Such action is not surprising when we understand the character of this new Act. Let us consider one or two points in connection with it. In the first place here are the principal reductions in the scales which are imposed by Part II. of the Act:

> Single men, over 21 years of age, living with their family, suffer a reduction of 7s. per week. For the second and subsequent male members the cut is still heavier—9s. per week.
>
> For women, 21 years of age, living with their family, a cut of 7s., and for every subsequent family member 8s.
>
> Youths between 18 and 21 years of age, a cut of 6s.; girls, 5s.
>
> Boys 16 to 18: 3s.; girls: 1s. 6d.
>
> Man and wife, a cut of 2s.

In addition to these terrible cuts a much harsher means test is imposed by which employed members of the family have almost a total of their wages assessed in order that the Unemployment Benefit of a brother, father, or sister or son, can be either savagely cut or completely stopped.

It means thrusting the burden for the maintenance of the unemployed on to the shoulders of the employed workers, thereby reducing the whole family basis of our class. It means driving the single unemployed workers out of their homes into Slave Camps and into the Army. These savage cuts and the slave camp scheme are, no doubt, deliberately calculated by the Government to turn the unemployed into a vast army of cheap labour that will constitute the gravest menace that we have ever known to trade unionism and trade union standards. This attack upon the standards of the unemployed is made at the moment when there is a rising wage movement developing in many industries. The National Government

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no doubt hope, if they can get their scheme through, either to retard or completely to smash this rising wage movement by the threat of a demoralised blackleg force. The Unemployed are resisting this new slave status. The employed workers understand the importance of the struggle and are coming into it. As important as the victory of the workers has been in compelling the Government to suspend the operation of Part II., we must not fail to understand that the Government will engage in many manœuvres in order to regain the ground that they have been driven from. The Act is only suspended, not withdrawn.

The demands around which the struggle must be developed now are the following:

1. Not amendment, but the complete withdrawal of Part II. of the Unemployment Act:

2. The full restoration of the cuts to all unemployed, nobody to get less than the Labour Exchange benefit, plus any relief allowances formerly being paid, with a continuous fight for the following scale laid down by the N.U.W.M. National Conference:

(*a*) 20s. per week to all unemployed workers of 18 years of age and over;

(*b*) 5s. per week for each dependent child;

(*c*) 15s. per week for young persons 16 to 18 years of age;

(*d*) 10s. per week for wife or other adult dependent;

(*e*) 7s. 6d. per week to those between 14 and 16 years of age.

3. For the complete abolition of the Means Test and Anomalies Regulations;

4. For the complete withdrawal of the Slave Camp Scheme;

5. For a National Plan of work-schemes at full trade union rates of wages and conditions for the unemployed;

6. The immediate resignation of the Unemployment Assistance Board.

Further, we must demand that the National Government accepts full responsibility for the entire costs of the unemployed through an all-in non-contributory scheme, and that the local authorities shall be relieved of all expenditure in respect to unemployed maintenance.

The workers are roused against this Government as they have never been roused before, and it is quite conceivable that with the development of the struggle on the lines of mass action on the streets, plus strike action in the factories and pits, not only can the complete withdrawal of the Act be secured, but the National Government can at last be brought toppling to the ground.

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THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN CONGRESS

By BOB McILHONE

THE decisions of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain, which took place in Manchester in the first days of February, are of very great importance for the British working-class movement. In contrast to the Southport and Weymouth Conferences of the Labour Party and T.U.C., where the dominating note was of class collaboration of the workers with Capitalism, and where all preparations had been made to keep out any suggestion of the prevailing desire among the workers for struggle against the capitalists, the Manchester Congress of the Communist Party was prepared and carried through in an atmosphere of the widest discussion of the problems before the workers, the most open exchange of views on the tactical line of the Party, and the hammering out of clear policy with regard to the whole period ahead. The agenda of the Congress contained the following questions: (1) The Communist Party and the United Front; (2) The Economic Struggles of the Workers; (3) The Building of the Communist Party; (4) The Platform of Action of the Party for Soviet Power in Britain. In these questions one can see at a glance that the Communist Party Congress had concentrated in its agenda the most outstanding and burning issues of the class struggle of the workers at the present stage. Here there was no side-stepping of the issues, as at the Conferences of the Labour Party and T.U.C.

On the contrary the Communist Congress, utilising the widest democracy in the working out of its policy, steadily set its face to analysing the present stage of the workers' struggles, seeing in the whole situation the menacing march of fascism and war, the unceasing and relentless attacks on the workers' standards of life, and above all the ability of the masses to fight for their rights only being kept from developing to its fullest extent by the attempts of the reformist leaders to sabotage and destroy the strivings of the workers to united action against the capitalists. Finally, in contrast to the Conferences of the Labour Party and T.U.C., which refused admittance to unemployed deputations, which had no word of encouragement to give the millions who are now facing the operation of the Unemployment Act, the telegrams from the South Wales area to the Communist Party Congress, showing how the workers and their women-folk were engaged in mass action against the Bill (the *deciding factor* in forcing the Government to make the recent concessions),

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brought the Congress delegates to their feet in tumultuous enthusiasm. The events in South Wales and Sheffield, the unity of the workers in action against the National Government's Act are the greatest justification of the line of the 13th Congress of the C.P.G.B. and the strongest condemnation of the disruptive and splitting policy of the leadership of the British Labour Party and Trade Union Movement.

The main problem before the Communist Congress was that of the United Front. The resolution before the Congress declared with the greatest emphasis :

> *In this situation of accelerating capitalist development to Fascism and War, the ever more urgent need of the international working class is the speedy realisation of the widest united working class front against Fascism and War, and for the daily economic demands of the masses against the capitalist offensive.*

In discussing this question and coming to this view the Communist Party Congress took into account the experiences of the last two years in the international labour movement. In this period of time there has been a " far-reaching transformation of the world situation," the centre point of which has been on the one hand the advance of Fascism in Germany and Austria, and on the other the heroic battles of the workers in France, Spain, Austria, and the consequent raising of the issues of " the united working class front and of the preparations for the revolutionary struggle for Soviet Power as the central issues of the period." (Communist Congress resolution.)

The increasing war tension, the formation of new military alliances, the extensive military preparations being undertaken by all the capitalist powers, the interventionist plans and actions in Soviet China and the Mongolian People's Republic, the war plans on the Soviet Union, stimulated the Congress to a keynote of determination to go forward to build the united all-inclusive working-class front against Fascism and War.

The Congress saw in the present economic situation in Britain no prospect of continued upward improvement. On the contrary, what slight upward movement of industrial production has occurred has taken place in a period of more intensified attacks on the workers' standards of life through rationalisation, attacks on the unemployed, etc., and if it means anything at all it can only mean at best a strenuous effort on the part of the capitalists to adapt themselves to the present peculiar type of depression. Even to maintain the present level of production without prospect of further improvement, a new offensive will have to be made against the conditions of the whole working class. While the workers must and will gain confidence and strength from the fact that the National Government have been compelled to retreat temporarily, it would be the greatest error not to see that new plans for economic attacks on the

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workers are on hand. New forces are coming forward, new alignments are being formed against the working class (Wavertree is of grave importance in this respect) and the capitalists are seriously intent on increasing the burdens on the workers. The Communist Congress saw this as the reality of the period ahead of us. It placed on record, not a prospect of prosperity, but of increasing misery and fiercer struggle to live. An examination of the position of the National Government, the carrying through of its ultra reactionary programme, the widespread mass discontent with it, the increasing uncertainty and growing restlessness in the ranks of the bourgeoisie as to the future, points only in one direction: that in order to carry through their plans against the working class, British capitalism is moving increasingly to Fascism.

Convinced of this serious menace, the Communist Congress declared emphatically for the united working-class front. It came out strongly against those who would sabotage and interfere with the building of the united front. Especially necessary was it for the Congress to warn the workers that the policy of the Labour leadership, based on the Southport Conference decisions, in asking the workers passively to await the general election and the return of a Third Labour Government, and their opposition to all forms of working-class unity, their attempts to split the workers' movement (Black Circular), were only in the interests of the workers' enemies and assisted in disarming the workers before the dangers of fascism, war, and the attacks of the capitalists.

The Congress therefore declared :—

> Only on the basis of a determined exposure and struggle against the entire policy of the Labour Party and T.U.C. leadership and for the realisation of the policy of class struggle on the basis of an all inclusive united working class front can the fight against fascism be successfully fought.

It was the duty of the Congress fearlessly to analyse the movements going on among the workers, to take into account what the workers were saying and doing, in order really to understand how the whole struggle could be advanced to a higher stage. The Congress considered that the processes going on in the working class movement were varied and uneven, with a lack of political clarity among the workers as to what the present situation involved. The outstanding question here is that while on the one hand the mass of the workers are prepared and actually engaged in active mass struggle (South Wales, Sheffield, etc.), including the preparing of strike action for their demands, and while there is the greatest demand and insistence upon united working class strength in the present period (revolt against the Black Circular, etc.) on the other hand, it would be playing the fool not to see that the decisive majority of the workers still follow the Labour Party. The big rise in the Labour vote in the Municipal and Parliamentary bye-elections cannot be separated from the

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general upward movement in the fighting spirit and consciousness of the working class, and because it reflects, despite the character of the Labour Party programme, the wide desire for class solidarity against the capitalists and the National Government, the Congress considered it essential to state its opinion with regard to this wide expression of working class feeling and to adopt a policy in the coming general elections.

Taking into consideration the wide feeling among the workers on the question of the defeat of the National Government and the return of a Labour Government, and for the purpose of furthering the realisation of the united front of all the workers' forces against the capitalists the Communist Party Congress decided on such an electoral policy as would clearly aid in the forging of the united front despite the wishes and actions of the reformist leaders.

First of all, it was pointed out that " the whole success of the united front as a fighting front of the working class depends on what is done now to build it up in the daily struggle of the working class. In this connection the fight must be waged around the immediate daily issues confronting the workers, to build the class front in action, while decisively rejecting the passive policy of waiting for a possible Third Labour Government. In the united front struggle for the most elementary demands of the workers the National Government can be brought down.

> The Communist Party stands for the defeat of the National Government and pledges itself to exert all its powers and influence to mobilise and unite the working class in the daily fight to bring down the National Government.

Here is stated definitely and without ambiguity the principal political aim of the Communist Party for the immediate period ahead.

In the general election campaign the Communist Party will throw the whole resources of the Party into the fight to secure the return of Communist candidates and thus to secure revolutionary representation in Parliament. The return of Communist candidates to the House of Commons would be a tremendous strengthening of the whole fight of the workers.

The Congress declared that the militant mass movement of the workers, based on the united front of struggle would sweep away the National Government, and return, alongside a strong group of Communist M.P.s, the maximum number of Labour M.P.s. pledged to a united front of action for the elementary demands of the workers. Thus, while warning the workers that the return of a Labour Government, as a result of the downfall of the National Government which the class action of the workers had brought about, would not solve the main problems of the workers, that these could be solved only by the overthrow of the capitalist class and the setting up of the Workers' Dictatorship—Soviet Power,

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nevertheless the defeat of the National Government and the return of a Labour Government could stimulate the whole fighting forces of the workers and advance the struggle for the winning of their demands, and against the whole capitalist system. The Congress therefore expressed its desire to make agreements with Labour Party candidates and organisations around a programme mutually agreed upon of elementary workers' demands. Such candidates who pledge themselves to the united front of action will receive the unstinted support of the Communist Party in their election campaign.

Of tremendous importance for the future struggles of the workers is the statement of the Communist Party Congress on Economic Struggles. Upon which problems does this resolution concentrate attention ? First of all in the building of the united front of action it is clear that the fight for the wage demands being made by the workers in the various trade unions, and for the daily economic questions of all the workers (higher relief for the unemployed, etc.) gives every prospect of the opening up of a big wave of economic struggles in this country. In analysing this movement the Congress accepted as the most important concrete task of the party in the coming period, the preparation of strike action to win the workers' wage demands. Here it is recognised that the main forces of the party and all advanced workers must be devoted to working inside the trade unions, to building the unions, enlivening inner union life, assisting the workers to prepare the unions and the factory organisation for strike action to win their demands. Against this the reformists place submission to all forms of arbitration. The Communist Party is calling for all militant forces to strengthen the trade unions in the fight against the capitalists, shows that success depends on the defeating of the policy of arbitration and reliance on wage negotiating machinery, and that against this policy all militant forces in the trade unions must fight for a policy of class struggle.

The working out of a common policy of struggle, based on the class struggle and the fight for the workers' demands, for the extension of workers' democracy in the unions, is an urgent problem facing every trade union worker at the present moment.

An outstanding note in the Communist Party Congress was the question of the building of the Communist Party itself. Never was the problem of building a Mass Communist Party in this country so urgent. Just at this time when the prospect of big class battles is appearing immediately ahead, and when the capitalists are driving relentlessly to Fascism and war, the question of building a revolutionary leadership of the working class to guide and unite the class forces of the workers, is the concern of all progressive thinking workers. A leadership able and intelligent, capable of leading the workers because it is attached to them with a

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hundred thousand unbreakable connections, which can fight alongside of, lead and organise, the workers on the smallest, seemingly "trifling" issue, and yet which at the same time can assist the working class to understand the class nature of its problems and to see the necessity of removing by its class action the capitalists, of destroying the capitalist system and of organising their own State power, and of building Socialism.

In this connection the Party will be considerably aided by the adoption of the "Platform of Action for Soviet Power in Britain." Here for the first time in one document is set out the aims of the Communist Party in connection with the struggle for Socialism. The Platform of Action will assist immeasurably in the explanation of how Soviet Power can be achieved in Britain, and what the dictatorship of the working class can achieve when once the capitalists are overthrown and the Workers' State is faced with the task of reconstructing the economic life of the country, liquidating unemployment, and raising the general standard of life of the workers and farmers.

A special and significant feature of the discussion at the Congress occurred on a resolution on colonial policy. The Congress was unanimous in recommending that all its Districts pay greater attention than ever before to bringing home to the mass of the workers the need for building up a fighting alliance with the colonial peoples for the independence of all the colonial countries from the imperialist yoke, including the recognition of their right to complete separation from the British Empire. In particular it decided to support the campaign of the League against Imperialism for the widest possible struggle against the new Government of India Bill and to take part in the District Conferences against that Bill now being organised up and down the country.

The decisions of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Great Britain are worthy of the most careful consideration by all advanced thinking men and women in the British Labour Movement. They are a "guide to action," for the coming period, an indispensable weapon which, in the hands of every Trade Unionist, Labour Party and Co-operative worker, can assist in the maximum degree the forging of the chain of working-class unity and strength, the only guarantee that the workers' demands will be won, and that we can advance to ridding Britain of the parasitic capitalist class, and setting our feet firmly on the way to Socialism by the establishment of our own class Government—Soviet Power.

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FASCISM DRIVES TO WAR

By BERNARD SCHULTZ*

(*Secretary of the World Committee against Imperialist War and Fascism.*)

MUSSOLINI addressing his officers from the top of an army tank—that was the illustration of the fascist will to war which was going the rounds of the world a few months ago in the form of a press photograph. And now Mussolini, the champion of fascism, is the first in Europe since the world war to proclaim a partial mobilisation. He is crying for war against Africa's last independent Negro state. Provocation by fascist officers on the Abyssinian frontier was accompanied by negotiations between Mussolini and France concerning the surrender of certain border districts. Italian fascism evidently wanted in this way, at the very moment of its military preparations, to improve its coastal base against the last free Negro state in Africa. French imperialism has deferred to this drive by the fascist war-mongers, since France hopes to secure advantages in exchange elsewhere, particularly in Central Europe.

As an instrument of military pressure fascist Italy mobilised two divisions in Messina and Florence besides calling up the 1911 class to the colours. The fact that this partial mobilisation is being taken seriously and that the citizens of Italy appreciate their fascist rulers' will to war is shown by the sudden fall on the stock market of the state loans. The last big Italian internal loan, which as recently as December was quoted at 89, fell during the provocation on the Abyssinian frontier to 82. But when the partial mobilisation against Abyssinia was made public on 11th of February the stock fell again to 78. No wonder that Mussolini, the very next day, tried to explain, "in order to assuage anxiety," that actually nothing at all had yet happened and that as yet not one single soldier had been shipped to Abyssinia.†

At the same time, excuses come from British sources, suddenly stating that provocative influences were making themselves felt at the court of the emperor of Abyssinia, tending to involve Italy in war against her will. One knows that during the last few years Japan has been taking an increasing interest in the Abyssinians. But one knows also that German fascist adventurers are active in Abyssinia. Will in actual

* Specially translated for the LABOUR MONTHLY from the German by Michael Davidson.

† This statement was followed but shortly afterwards first by the despatch of a battalion of Blackshirts, then by two battalions of "militia." Altogether at the time of going to press 4 troopships with men *and* quantities of munitions have left Italy for East Africa. —Ed. LABOUR MONTHLY

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fact joint action develop in Africa between the latest allies from Central Europe and the Far East—that is the question asked by the *Deutsches Tageblatt* in Paris. And the paper adds: "Is, perhaps, a real war to result from the Marseilles assassinations?"

Let us recall the Marseilles-Serajevo. The shots fired at the king of Yugo-Slavia and the French foreign minister constituted a fascist plot against peace. For weeks the threat of war hovered over the two dictatorship-powers, Hungary and Yugo-Slavia. In all discussion of this ghastly murder, however, as much in the international press as in Geneva, conflict between the big fascist powers filled the background as the really serious menace. The relations of the Croatian assassins and their newspaper in Berlin with fascist leaders have been proved. Tracks of the preparations for the assassination lead equally clearly to fascist Italy, where, as in Hungary, Croatian terrorist groups existed. No wonder that in the end Mussolini refused extradition of the leaders of the conspiracy arrested in Italy. If the fascist dictatorship-governments have not yet been able to unleash the dogs of war with the help of the Marseilles outrage, it is only because this time the anti-war forces throughout the world were sufficiently deeply rooted in public opinion to nip this provocation in the bud.

But let us remember that already three times last year battalions were marching to take possession of frontiers. And it was always militant fascist aims that were at the back of these advances. First the stake was Austria, who herself has become a prey to clerico-fascism. In Austria, as in Spain, the clerical veneer of fascism has shown that it too is prepared to wage war against its own people. Clerico-fascism was able to assert itself only in open civil war against the working-class population. Fascism then proceeded to provide the first occasion (in 1934) for military demonstrations on the frontier.

When, after the murder of Dollfuss, Mussolini sent his divisions to the Alpine passes, it was a frank threat of war against Hitler. Here we have classical proof of the fact that fascism drives to war. Here, with the first military demonstration in Europe since the end of the world war, it was plain: fascists march against fascists. Hitler's retreat, which forced him to accept a defeat in foreign politics, led after a few weeks to the demobilisation of the Italian divisions.

In October, when Hitler's putsch-intentions in connection with the Saar became obvious, French troops were marching towards the Saar frontier. The French imperialists declared that they were only fulfilling their obligations in accordance with the international treaties. They were responsible for the safeguarding of peace on the Saar and for that reason their troops were on the march. This second concentration of troops during 1934 aggravated fascist Jingoism in Germany to an

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extraordinary extent. For weeks on end the Nazi press, by order of the armaments industry, raved about the French war menace.

Later Hitler had to submit to foreign troops marching, with his assent, into the Saar. Laval's move of arranging for the entry of " neutral " battalions allowed Hitler no other course than to accept this " lesser evil." But, after the initial report, this assent was simply ignored by the fascist press in Germany. After the arrival of the foreign troops, however, the insidious poison of national hatred again began to spread over Germany. A positive avalanche of Chauvinism ensued. In the Saar, too, the foreign uniforms had an extremely disquieting effect on a large section of the population. They provided not only a demonstration of the immediate danger of war ; they gave, at the same time, to the National Socialists full justification for the slogan of national liberation, which contributed very heavily to the defeat of the *status quo*. The fact that Mussolini's troops were again on the spot in the Saar showed afresh how fascism is in the forefront on every sector affecting war.

Fascist ideology has already produced special theories and rallying cries for this enhanced nationalist aggressiveness. Simultaneously with oppression at home fascism distracts the attention of the people away from the internal crisis by pointing to territories that really belong in the national sense to its country. These racial theories are at present being propagated particularly by the big fascist powers of Japan, Italy and Germany. Without interruption it is being hammered into the masses of the people that solely over-population and want of room for expansion are at the bottom of all internal political difficulties.

Thus there was added to the slogan of " liberation of the oppressed sections of the nation " the cry that a " people without room " has a right to " room without people." Japanese imperialism saw this " room without people " in Northern China and Eastern Siberia. Italian fascism describes North Africa as this " room without people " in its case. German fascism, however, has repeatedly stated, through the mouths of its leaders and theorists, that for it the " wide spaces in the East " provide " room without people." Thus, in the world crisis, finance capital finds in fascism fresh effective slogans for its imperialism, with which it can thoroughly inoculate the masses with Chauvinism.

Owing to the wrecking of the Disarmament Conference and owing to her withdrawal from the League of Nations, Hitler-Germany has created for herself the freedom of movement necessary to carry out unchecked preparations for her aggressive policy at home. Rearmament in fascist Germany has been carried on at such breathless speed that nobody any longer doubts the war-like designs of fascism. So many details have already been published and so many exhaustive books have been written regarding Hitler's armaments that here it is necessary only to repeat a few salient features.

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With the 400,000 men of the Hitlerian Reichswehr—the figures given to the British ambassador—the police, organised on military lines, of 200,000 and the S.S., an excellently trained force of several hundred thousand, Hitler-Germany already to-day has a larger standing army than the Empire before the war. The great weakness of German military organisations before the Hitler Dictatorship was the relatively small trained reserve. But here, too, Hitler-fascism has been quick to find a remedy. Years of drill have created in the S.A. and its auxiliary organisations a mobilisation reservoir, numbering scarcely less than three million. In addition, there are about 4 million ex-service men who have not yet reached their forty-fifth year. After some fresh training they may be regarded as being fit for use in war. In the meanwhile, however, the training of new reserves is being carried on at feverish speed at the labour camps, in the "sports" formations, the colleges and secondary schools and in the Hilter Youth. This is a problem that only the fascist dictatorship could solve on behalf of finance-capital. There is still much to be done. Hitler-fascism still needs some amount of time in order to complete the military training of the millions. But it has a fixed plan providing for the training of these millions to be accomplished by 1936, that is to say during the present year.

As regards technical equipment, which has been described already in a large number of publications, we shall limit ourselves here to a few telling instances. The Treaty of Versailles denies to Germany the right to possess heavy artillery. And yet to-day the German heavy artillery, established despite this prohibition, is already far stronger than the Polish artillery or that of any other neighbouring country apart from France. In exactly the same way all neighbouring countries except France have been outstripped by Goering's air fleet. The immediate menace of this rivalry has been frankly admitted by the French and British governments in the London Air Pact.

As regards preparations for chemical warfare everything is ready in this field too. The great German chemical industry is one of the most tremendous factors of its power, constantly bringing out fresh inventions. The consumption of raw materials in the chemical industry shows that poison gases, disclosed and undisclosed, are being produced on a mass scale. This tremendous industry is also preparing the ground for bacteriological warfare, which has the most ghastly surprises of all in store for us. At the same time military production of the electrical industry and of scientific instruments is going on at unprecedented speed. It is not yet possible to see what rôle they will really play. The production of steel in Germany also provides a clear indication that war material for millions is being turned out. If fascism in Germany keeps up this speed it will be six times stronger in 1936, in a military-technical sense, than in 1934. But the capacity of industry is by no means exhausted. We

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must not forget that Germany's power to rearm is very much greater than that of France. If German industry had the political and financial chance of making full use of its entire capacity, which at present for financial reasons it cannot do, Germany could reach France's armaments level within six or eight months.

Nothing but the most brutal fascist dictatorship could create such a " nation in arms." The fascist dictatorship has also been successful in gaining the necessary time in the field of foreign affairs for carrying out its armament programme. In its attitude towards the London *Communiqué* it is continuing these tactics openly and successfully. The London Air Pact shows that the British and French Governments are aware of the immense danger represented by the new German air force. The western general staffs know perfectly well how airplanes and aerial engines are being produced on a mass scale. They know that millions of bombs for the destruction of whole cities are being accumulated in subterranean munition depots. They know that there are thousands of underground air-ports in all the thickly wooded parts of Germany. They know that tens of thousands of military airmen are being trained at these aerodromes. Their invitation to Hitler and Goering to join in the Air Pact of London was the political recognition of this enormous armaments level, and it almost amounts to sheer capitulation.

The attitude of the British Government is becoming more and more obviously favourable to Hitlerian rearmament. British imperialism is making repeated diplomatic moves to cover the Hitler government's anti-peace measures and the aggressive manifestations of foreign Hitler agents. This support for Hitler fascism is directly connected with the British support of the Japanese predatory war in Northern China. At the time of the London negotiations Japanese imperialism made the first advance across the frontier of the Mongolian People's Republic ; against, that is to say, a country allied with the Soviet Union. And at the same time Hitler fascism turned aggressively towards the east, by way of Memel and Lithuania against the Soviet Union.

In the interests of this offensive the agreement with fascist Poland was brought about. Goering's visit to Pilsudski signalised the aggressive mood of the two fascist dictatorships. Hitler's diplomatic approval of the London *Communiqué* as a basis for negotiation means only that he is seeking a way, with the help of the British Government, to enable him at last to undertake the advance towards the East on behalf of Western European finance-capital, so that he can present himself to the capitalists of Europe as their " saviour from Bolshevism."

His policy in this direction is not confined to the slogan that " the people without room " has a right to " room without people." In other ways, too, fascism is trying to give the decaying capitalist world a new

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ideology. This has already been proclaimed by Mussolini on a national basis ; now, however, national-socialism means to spread it right over the whole world. Its ideological production is working at high pressure on conquest and preparation for war. The theory of the superior races that must rule the various parts of the world has already recognised the Japanese as one of these races. How pliable this theory can be is shown by the fact that after Goering's visit to Pilsudski Hitler himself hailed the Poles as an Aryan people. Anti-semitism is a particularly repulsive and culturally destructive form of this provocative racial theory.

Fascism's other experiments concerning the principle of leadership, its new philosophy of history, and its whole attitude to science and art, have only one purpose : the encouragement of military efficiency, the creation of a soldierly spirit and the comprehensive influencing of the masses in favour of a war of conquest.

The grotesque controversies concerning a new world outlook (*Weltanschauung*) and the religious conflicts unloosed by Hitler-fascism also serve only to prepare the way for war. The Christian faith is not aggressive enough for it ; it still gives suffering mankind the outlet of believing in heaven. It must, therefore—just like the Spenglerian pessimism of late capitalism—be eliminated. Faith in heaven and pessimism do not provide the proper soil for the cultivation of the war spirit. Herr Rosenberg's mystical *Weltbejahung* (the world-everlasting "Yea") is to be substituted for it. Nor is the passive attitude of mind allowed, for it is not suitable for the production of martial enthusiasm. Everything has got to be activist and heroic. Reason is to give way totally to this new mysticism. Fascists have no need for the reasoned examination of the measures taken from above by the "Leader." No wonder that the Leader is deified more and more often. The new mythology is simply the mythology of war and of armaments.

On the one hand fascism has the task of keeping the masses at home in subjection, forcibly barring the way to their social liberation, so that capitalist profits can continue to be maintained at the cost of the absolute impoverishment of the masses ; on the other hand fascism must simultaneously make these same masses ripe for the intoxication of war, which is needed by imperialism in order to secure opportunities for production and profits and, finally, by means of wars throughout the world—even a world-war—to keep intact the security of capitalist rule.

War and fascism spring from the same root ; the struggle against war and that against fascism are one and the same thing. To set all opponents of war, all anti-imperialists, all anti-fascists in motion against them—that is the way to put a stop to this terrible crime against humanity.

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THE SIXTY-SIX PER CENT. BACKGROUND TO THE INDIA BILL

By JOAN BEAUCHAMP

[*The following article is a continuation of the series*[1] *which was commenced in January this year on the significance and background of the British Government's new plan to maintain its enslavement of the Indian peoples, as embodied in the Goverment of India Bill now being debated in Parliament. In this article Joan Beauchamp, author of "British Imperialism in India," recently published by Messrs. Martin Lawrence* (5s.), *describes the condition of the peasantry, the biggest section of the population, about to be vitally affected by the provisions of this new Bill. For in the All-India Federal Legislature which this Bill creates, the princes and other sections of the landlord class are ensured a decisive if not predominating influence as the principal allies of British Imperialism. They will thus be guaranteed a share in the exploitation of the largest section of the Indian population, the vast majority of whom are denied all rights whatsoever under this constitution as shown by the fact that, except for the most insignificant proportion and that exclusively of the more wealthy sections, the whole peasant population remains completely disenfranchised.*]

AN assiduous reading of the innumerable official reports on India which emanate from governmental or semi-governmental sources would lead one to believe that the solution of the problem of rural poverty was a herculean task which a little band of wholly disinterested Anglo-Indian officials was tackling day by day with enormous heroism, making a little headway here and there against the innate and indestructible ignorance and waywardness of the Indian peasant, and achieving a steady progress on which they were greatly to be congratulated.

As soon as one begins to study in any detail the Government of India's own official statistics this pretty picture fades away like the chimera it is, and one is amazed at the colossal hypocrisy of the compilers of the official reports who, knowing full well the root causes of the poverty of the Indian peasant masses, write only of the minor effects arising from these causes,

[1]The previous articles in this series are "The New Deal in India," by Reginald Bridgeman, January, 1935; "The New Imperialist Strategy in India" by Lester Hutchinson, February, 1935. Copies of each of these issues can be obtained from the Manager, the LABOUR MONTHLY, 7 John Street, London, W.C.1, 7d. each post free.

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and speak cheerfully of improvements which exist only in their own imaginations.

These government reports tell glibly of sub-division of holdings, debt burdens, deterioration of cattle, lack of science, insufficiency of irrigation, and peasant ignorance. But they keep silent about the Government land monopoly, about the £25 million per annum which is taken from the cultivators by the Government alone, without counting the further vast sums absorbed by landlords and middlemen, about the scandalous rates of interest charged by moneylenders, about the heavy taxes on articles of consumption, the water charges and other local demands on the peasant economy.

The root cause of the ever-widening destitution of the Indian masses is to be found in the subjugation of India to the position of an agricultural colony under the control of British finance-capital. Under the stranglehold of British Imperialism the industrial development of India has been so effectively held back that the census figures of the percentage of the population dependent on agriculture from 1891 to 1921 actually show a steady increase ; and the latest figure, taken from the 1931 census, shows that 66 per cent. of the population are now dependent on agriculture, as compared with 61 per cent. in 1891. It is a fact that is not often realised that, in spite of the development of factory production during the war years (when Great Britain was no longer in a position to penalise Indian industry), the destruction of home industries was such that even the census figures of 1921 show a reduction, in the preceding decennial period, of the total number of workers in industry from 17.5 millions to 15.7 millions, which was further reduced by 1931 to 15.4 millions.

While the pressure on agriculture has been substantially increased the relative positions of the classes in the countryside have altered as a result of the intensification of the exploitation of the peasant cultivator. The landlord class, that is to say those who live on agricultural rent, without being themselves cultivators, has increased from 2.8 millions in 1911 to 3.3 millions in 1931. The number of cultivators, including owners and tenants, decreased from 71 millions in 1911 to 61.2 millions in 1931, while the number of landless peasants increased by roughly 10 millions in the last decade.[2]

It is a favourite trick of the Anglo-Indian to talk as if the rate of increase of the Indian population was so great that the land and resources of India are insufficient adequately to support " the teeming millions " rapidly springing up. This, of course, is a deliberate misrepresentation. Not only do the census figures over the last fifty years show that the percentage rate of increase of the Indian population has been more than 10 per cent. lower than that of the population of England and Wales, but the rates of increase in the decades 1901 and 1921 respectively sank to less than a half,

[2]Census figures.

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and less than a quarter, of the lowest rate that has ever been known in this country.

That the land left over for the peasant cultivators, when the rapacity of the land monopolists has been satisfied, cannot yield them a subsistence leaves no room for doubt. The cultivated land in India is little over a third of the total area, but two-thirds of it is owned by the imperialists and landlords, while tens of millions of peasants have to subsist on the other third. The agricultural statistics show that nearly a quarter of the total area is " culturable but not cultivated," but in spite of this the cultivated area is not increasing at any appreciable rate, nor has the situation improved during the last ten years, as the following figures show :

AGRICULTURAL SURVEY.

(MILLION ACRES.)

Total Area	Not Available for Cultivation	Forests	Fallow	Culturable Waste	Sown Area	Irrigated Area
1922-23 667	152.0	85.5	47.0	154	224.9	47.8
1932-33 667	145.0	88.4	50.4	154	228.0	49.6

These figures show a stagnation in agriculture, and when one looks at them more closely and considers also those for 1931-32, a definitely retrograde tendency is seen. Comparing 1931-32 with the following year one finds that the same area, *i.e.*, 34 per cent. of the whole, is cultivated but in the latter year there was a 3 million acre reduction in the area sown to food crops. Also when one looks at the figures for rice, the staple food of the Indian masses, one finds not only a reduction in the acreage of last year's crop, but a very substantial reduction in the yield per acre as compared with 1922-23. The yield per acre of wheat also fell considerably during the same period. Of the 88 million acres of forest one half belongs to the Government, while the rest is in the hands of the landlords and rich peasants, and the ordinary cultivator has to pay even for the use of such grazing as the forest lands afford for a short period of the year.

If the two hundred and seventy-eight million acres of cultivated and fallow lands were divided up equally among the landlords and peasants who live upon it, it would average at a little over 2½ acres per worker and landlord, but as many of the landlords possess more than 50 acres of cultivated land, it can be seen how small a proportion is left for each peasant. The Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture (1928) states :—

> The Punjab figures which are the only ones available for a province indicate that 22.5 per cent. of the cultivators cultivate one acre or less ; a further 15.4 per cent. cultivate between one and 2½ acres ; 17.9 per cent. between 2½ and 5 acres and 20.5 between 5 and 10 acres. Except for Bombay, which would probably show a very similar result, and Burma which would give higher averages, all other provinces have much smaller areas per cultivator.

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The agrarian crisis is rapidly worsening the already desperate condition of the Indian peasantry. The catastrophic fall in the prices of the peasants' products, while the goods of general consumption which he has to buy have remained comparatively stable in price, has brought him to a disastrous position. The Government, as usual, has shown its utter disregard of the welfare of the population by increasing the burden of the land revenue at the very moment when the cultivator was least able to bear it. The result is that the cultivator is abandoned to the mercies of the moneylender, whose scandalous extortions have always been winked at by the Government.

Already in 1928 the Commission on Agriculture stated that:

> to an extremely great extent the Indian agriculturist does not work for profit or for a net return, but for subsistence. The crowding of the people on the land, the lack of alternative means of security of living, the difficulty of finding any avenue of escape and the early age at which a man is burdened with dependants, combine to force the cultivator to grow food wherever he can and on whatever terms he can. Where his land has passed into the possession of his creditor, no legislation will serve his need, no tenancy law will protect him; for food he needs land, and for land he must plead before a creditor to whom he probably already owes more than the total value of the whole of his assets. That creditor is too often a landlord of a different class who has no historical connection with the estate, and is only interested in the immediate exploitation of the property in his control.

If this were true in 1928, how much more devastatingly true is it in 1935, when the bottom has dropped out of the agrarian market, the fall in prices has vastly increased the burden of rural indebtedness, and the land revenue is £3 million higher than it was before the slump. The better-off peasants have tried to stave off ruin by selling their gold and silver ornaments, and by this means more than 2,000 million rupees have been drained from India during the crisis. But the ordinary peasant is unable to stand the strain of usurious rent, taxes and interest, and millions of acres of land are passing from his hands to those of the money-lending shopkeepers and landlords.

The methods of the moneylenders are well described as follows:

> The most important group of moneylenders consists of the village shopkeepers, who deal with small cultivators. They are generally grocers, drapers, brokers and grain merchants, all rolled in one. They advance their goods and wares on credit to cultivators of their villages, and they also give cash loans. They generally accept the produce of the land in place of principal and interest. They have one way of calculating the value of the produce given by the cultivators, and another way when they sell it to the cultivators. They credit them with a much lower price for the produce sold to them and debit them with a higher price for all goods bought from them by the cultivators. One of the settlement reports of a taluka in Surat district says:—" Food grain taken on credit has to be paid back 1½ maunds for every maund borrowed; for

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> seeds, two maunds for every maund. Tobacco and such other articles are charged at 12 per cent. above the market price ; for example, a rupee's worth of tobacco is entered in the books as Rs. 1. 2. 0 "[3]

The vast majority of the Indian cultivators have to go on working year after year, hopelessly toiling for the creditors who have enslaved them, receiving out of their mortgaged harvest only the barest pittance to enable them to keep alive that the creditor may continue to wring profits out of their labour. These vampires are tacitly encouraged by the Government, and even the few laws to limit their extortions, which have been passed in response to popular clamour, are shamelessly admitted in Government publications to have fallen into disuse or to have been " completely ineffective."

Nevertheless, from the point of view of both British and Indian capitalists, the ruin and expropriation of the peasants is not good business—a beggar is not a profitable customer, and this obvious fact is beginning to be forced home to the Indian bourgeois as he sees his home market contract. The Annual Trade Report for the United Kingdom (1933-34), in accounting for the low level of exports to India, makes the following significant statement :—" The consuming capacity of the Indian people both in urban and rural districts, was at its lowest ebb and their purchases were confined to the barest necessities."

In its 1933 Report the Committee of the Bombay Millowners' Association says :

> The main factor which adversely affected both yarn and cloth was the low purchasing power of the masses, who have suffered from successive crop failures, coupled with low prices.

In August, 1933, the Indian paper *Liberty* predicted that the time would soon come when the landlord would demand all that the cultivator grew, and nothing would remain with which to pay taxes or buy factory goods. It continued :

> In Bengal we have apparently reached such a situation already. If a Bengal agriculturist still buys something, it is at the cost of the landlord and the *Mahajan*. He has no surplus of money, and this means that Bengal is at the threshold of economic collapse. (August 28, 1933.)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru told a representative of the United Press as long ago as September, 1933, that " the agrarian system has already collapsed and the new organisation of society is already inevitable."

But what are Jawaharlal Nehru and the rest of the Congress supporters doing to bring about " a new organisation of society ? " Is the Village Industries scheme, which is supported by Congress, likely to bring about this new organisation, or is it calculated to sidetract rural discontent into a harmless backwater ? Gandhi, with his Village Industries movement, is fulfilling the prediction of Marx by performing the historical function

[3]M. Mehta. A Study of the Rural Economy of Gujarat.

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of the lower middle class—" they are reactionary, for they are trying to make the wheels of history turn backwards."

But there are revolutionary elements among the Indian peasant masses, ground down as they have been throughout the ages by foreign invaders, rapacious landlords and imperialists. A new agricultural proletariat is being built up out of the expropriated peasants, a proletariat inspired with the same spirit as that of the town proletariat, who are not so ignorant that they have not heard of the proletarian triumphs of Soviet Russia and Soviet China. The no-tax campaigns and the peasant risings against landlords and moneylenders which took place all over India in 1930-33 were put down by the Government with the greatest brutality, but the ever-increasing recurrence of similar " incidents " indicates that the revolutionary ferment is working. In Madras in August last an incident, typical of many, was reported as follows :

> Five persons were killed and five seriously injured when the police opened fire in self-defence on a riotous mob at Kithavadi, near Pollachi, Madras. The police were assisting the holder of a decree order to take possession of a debtor's land. A mob, armed with spears and sticks, assembled to prevent the execution of the decree and attacked the police party. Police reinforcements were summoned, and the mob was dispersed. This situation is now under control, but the incident is regarded as grave.

It has always been said that the British ruling class was sufficiently clever and flexible in its methods to know when it had gone too far, and to draw back and make concessions in time. But is the Anglo-Indian type of exploiter quite as cunning ? You cannot drive 60 million peasant cultivators to the verge of desperation without encountering incidents which may be " regarded as grave." The complacent language of the official reports in the face of the collapse of the whole agrarian system of India does not lead one to admire the intelligence of the Indian Government. They are perhaps banking unduly on the division of classes among the peasants, and their separation from the town proletariat. It will take time to forge a durable alliance between the industrial workers, the agricultural labourers and the lower ranks of the peasants, but the rapid breakdown of the agrarian system and the enslavement of the peasantry are destroying the last barriers to the union. When the peasants realise that they, as well as the industrial workers, have nothing to lose but their chains the day of reckoning will be at hand.

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THE MEANING OF SIDNEY HOOK

I. *Mr. Hook distorts Facts*

MR. SIDNEY HOOK, Professor of Philosophy in New York University, has recently become quite virulent. And in one of his latest works[1] he condescends to include some notice of my modest contribution towards the clarification of some questions of the philosophy of Marxism, dialectical materialism.

Now I am no professor in New York Univeristy. I am simply a professor of philosophy in the Institute of Red Professors in Moscow, the capital of the country where " orthodox Marxism " (the quotation marks are Hook's) reigns. In addition, I am actually an " official Communist " and never was and never shall be a Trotskyite. I am treated accordingly by the illustrious professor. I (together with Comrade Mitin) am merely a " philosophical illiterate " who " in happy innocence " " confuses the most elementary distinctions recognised by logic and scientific method " ; I am the " most authoritative spokesman " of " that species of dialectical materialism which is regarded as the official communist brand to-day."

However, there is a certain consolation for me in the treatment Marx, Engels and Lenin receive from Hook. Marx created a historical theory whose " central terms " are " ambiguous " ;[2] Engels possessed " unclear absolutistic views,"[3] and he " accepted the crude formula of Feuerbach,"[4] he " settled all the difficulties *in advance* by a rigid and mechanical application of historical materialism,"[5] his standpoint is " logically infantile,"[6] he made " jokers " with " an unconsciousness which almost borders on simplicity,"[7] his " position is arrant nonsense " ;[8] Lenin in his philosophical writings has " a mechanical correspondence theory of knowledge "[8] etc., etc. In short, all these thinkers—surely among the greatest mankind ever produced—were equally in " happy innocence " about the " fact " that they were " ambiguous," " unclear," " crude," " rigid," " simple," " logically infantile," " nonsensical " and—last but for *dialectical* materialists, not least—" mechanical " !

Consequently I am in rather good company. So is Mr. Hook. Mr. Bertrand Russell, the eclectic, Mr. John Dewey, the agnostic, are the best company for a " dialectical materialist " of his " species." Mr. M. R. Cohen who regards revolution as " a regrettable means," is also the best

[1] *The Meaning of Marxism. A Symposium.* Edited by Sidney Hook. Farrar & Rinehart, New York, 1934.
[2] *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx.* p. 105. (Gollancz, 1933.) [3] p. 212. [4] p. 37. [5] pp. 147-148. [6] p 148. [7] p. 244 sq. [8] p. 61.

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company for a " communist " of this sort. They are all openly avowed enemies of Communism. This does not deter Mr. Hook from declaring them " communists of a sort."[9] No wonder that it is precisely with their aid that Mr. Hook undertakes the task of " explaining " the meaning of Marxism !

No wonder, for Mr. Hook himself is by no means a lesser, but in every point a greater enemy of communism than they. These others are not different from Mr. Hook because of their aversion from, and hostility towards, communism, but because of the frankness and sincerity with which they confess that aversion and hostility. For while Mr. Russell, Mr. Dewey and Mr. Cohen honestly and openly acknowledge their prejudices against communism (and, dear me, what prejudices !) Mr. Hook, in the well-known manner of all revisionists and renegades of Marxism, " saves the appearances " by utilising the *name* of Marx and the *word* " Marxism " for the *falsification* of Marxism ; by assuming the pose of a " more revolutionary " Marxist than the " orthodox " ones, of an " unofficial " communist against the " official " ones. In short, he *pretends* to fight against " bad " communism in the name of " good " communism in exactly the same manner as all opportunists pretend to fight against " bad " communism for " good " social democracy and against " bad " capitalism with the help of " good " capitalists. And, of course, with exactly the same aim—to deflect the proletariat from its revolutionary path by falsification of the revolutionary theory of the proletariat, revolutionary Marxism.

This is obvious. It is proved by the whole history of the Second International in general, by the history of Trotskyism in particular ; it is not refuted, but confirmed by Mr. Hook. It is confirmed in this case by the fact that Mr. Hook *never uses a single argument against the communists which does not originate from the arsenal of international social democracy against communism.* The detestable calumnies about the " rule of an uncontrollable bureaucracy " in the U.S.S.R. and of a " dictatorship *over* the proletariat "—what are these but the standard weapons of social democracy against the first country of socialism ? Nor is there anything unexpected in this. The French have a proverb : *La plus belle fiancée en France ne peut donner plus qu'elle a.* (The loveliest fiancée in France cannot give more than she possesses.) Neither can Mr. Hook give other " arguments " than the " arguments " of international Menshevism, or produce other weapons than the calumnies of Trotskyism.

There are, however, one or two feats of " originality " in the case of Mr. Hook. I shall mention only two of them.

Up to now we have been slandered with the calumny that in the U.S.S.R. there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, but a dictatorship *over* the

[9] *The Meaning of Marx*, p. 102.

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proletariat. But Mr. Hook is the first to maintain that *the communists themselves admit this* and *understand* by the phrase " dictatorship of the proletariat " the dictatorship of the Communist Party *over* the proletariat !

> " The so-called Communist Party in this country and elsewhere," he writes, " having abandoned the standpoint of Marx, understand (! L.R.) by the phrase [dictatorship of the proletariat] the ' dictatorship *over* the proletariat ' by the Communist Party." (*Modern Monthly*, October, 1934, p. 532.)

I draw the attention of the reader to the fact that the words " dictatorship *over* the proletariat " *are given in quotation marks* and so the appearance is created, deliberately, of course, *that this phrase is taken out of some communist document*, that it is the *view* of the communists themselves. On this basis it is then easy to concoct the statement that by the dictatorship of the proletariat the communists understand the dictatorship of the Communist Party *over* the proletariat, *i.e.*, that this is their *admitted theoretical standpoint !* Original, is it not ?

Take another instance of Mr. Hook's " originality " :

> " The result is," he " argues " in another place, " a degenerate workers' state in which the most important decisions are made by an uncontrollable bureaucracy. In such a state the workers may be kept well fed and housed because the *social* nature of production makes it impossible for the bureaucrats to accumulate capital, although they can squander social wealth and human energy by costly means." (*The Meaning of Marx*, p. 139. Italics mine.—L.R.)

The U.S.S.R. has hitherto been slandered with the charge that there is no socialism, no new " nature of production," no " workers' state," but simply and solely state capitalism there. This is at least consistent calumny, " monistic," so to speak. But to maintain that in the U.S.S.R. there is a " dictatorship *over* the proletariat," and to say at the same time that, in spite of this, it is a " workers' state " ; to assert *in the same sentence* that this workers' state is " degenerate " and that, in spite of this, there exists a " nature of production " which makes the " accumulation of capital " impossible, this is the special prerogative of Mr. Hook—a great enemy, as we shall see, of monistic philosophy. What " nature of production," pray, is that in which the " accumulation of capital is impossible " ? And what is the essential historical task of a workers' state (according to Marx), if not to make it impossible " to accumulate capital " ? Is not *this* precisely the criterion of a *genuine* workers' state ? Only a state which accomplishes *this* is a *genuine* workers' state—at least in the eyes of all class conscious workers and all enemies of the capitalist system. But, it is understandable, that all the *adherents* of the capitalist mode of production should for this very reason call this workers' state " degenerate." How could the fact, which—with oh, what reluctance ! —Mr. Hook is compelled to admit, that in this state the workers are " kept well fed and housed," be otherwise than a sign of " degeneration " in his eyes ?

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Here we have some specimens of the " originality " of Mr. Hook. At the same time they are specimens of his really consistent thinking. He at least cannot in any way be accused of " happy innocence " in relation either to the " confusion of the most elementary distinctions recognised by logic and scientific thinking " (even a hint of such a possibility would be an impertinence towards a professor of philosophy in New York University !), or to the *social aim* of this incoherent nonsense which contradicts the " most elementary distinctions " recognised—by *unfalsified* Marxism. He is neither innocent nor happy. Not innocent because this is a *conscious* falsification of Marxism. Mr. Hook is fully conscious of what he does. And this is precisely the cause of his incoherence. The fact is that it is *impossible* to hide conscious anti-Marxism under the cloak of Marxism without incoherence, without the most horrible, most " glaring " contradictions. And his unhappiness is connected with the same fact. It is *impossible* to pose as a " great revolutionary " and be consciously quite the opposite, without the feeling of, let us say, moral uneasiness.

Here we have had some foretaste of the kind of " originality " and consistency which we may expect from Mr. Hook in the field of dialectical materialism. Not very appetising. But we have to ladle out all the soup. We must fight the enemies of communism just as they are.

II. *What is a Monistic Philosophy ?*

One of the sections in Mr. Hook's book, *Towards the Understanding* (or Misunderstanding ?) *of Karl Marx*, bears the title : " Is Marxism a Monistic System ? " Mr. Hook categorically denies that Marxism is a monistic system and even, as we shall see in a moment, considers the logic of every monistic philosophy " self-defeating." The first question that arises is, therefore, *What is monistic philosophy ?*

I am only a " philosophical illiterate." But Mr. Hook is a Professor of Philosophy in New York University. A man of such dignity ought to know, so to say, *ex professore*, what this quite " elementary distinction " in philosophy means. But the fact is that, however regrettable this may be for the reputation of New York University, he has not the faintest notion of it. To show this let me quote a philosophical writer who even by our honoured professor must be admitted as something more than a " philosophical illiterate "—G. Plekhanov. Plekhanov explains the meaning of " monistic " philosophy thus :

> Materialism and idealism exhaust the most important tendencies of philosophical thought. It is true that in addition to them there have almost always existed some other, *dualistic*, systems, regarding *spirit* and *matter* as distinct and independent *substances*. *Dualism* was never able to give a satisfactory answer to the inevitable question how these distinct substances, having nothing in common, reacted upon one another. Therefore the most consistent and deepest thinkers always

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> had an inclination towards *monism. i.e.*, towards the explanation of phenomena by means of *some single basic principle* (*monos*, a Greek word, meaning single). Every consistent *idealist* is a monist to the same degree as every consistent *materialist*. In *this* relation there is no difference whatever between, for instance, Berkeley and Holbach. . . . In the first half of our (that is, the 19th—L.R.) century there reigned *idealistic* monism ; in the second half, *materialistic* monism, though not always consistent and open, became victorious in *science*, with which philosophy was meanwhile in complete fusion. (G. Plekhanov, *On the Question of the Development of the Monistic Views of History*. Works, vii., p. 66 (Russian edition). Translation mine.—L.R.)

As the reader sees, it is its relation to the " basic question of all philosophy," which determines whether a philosophy is *monistic* or *dualistic*. In *this* relation there are only two alternatives : either your philosophy is *monistic* or it is *dualistic*. A monist can be an idealist *or* a materialist ; a dualist can neither be a *consistent* materialist *nor* a *consistent* idealist. He may have the *illusion* that he is a consistent thinker, but *in reality* he can only be an *eclectic.*

This is the case, for example, in our time with Mr. Bertrand Russell, when he declares, quoted by Hook :

> I cannot assent to Marx's philosophy, still less to that of Lenin's *Materialism and Empirio-Criticism*. I am not a materialist, though I am even further removed from idealism. (*The Meaning of Marxism*, p. 83.)

When he wrote this he evidently forgot what he had written some years ago. Then he maintained exactly the opposite :

> On the question of the material out of which the physical world is constructed, the views advocated in this volume have, perhaps, more affinity with idealism than with materialism. (*The Analysis of Matter*, p. 387.)

But as one's philosophical line is *fundamentally* determined by one's relation to the " question of the material out of which the physical world is constructed " (this is what Plekhanov calls " substance "), and as on this question Mr. Russell's views have admittedly " more affinity with idealism than with materialism," he is evidently more an *idealist* than a materialist ; that is, he is an *inconsistent* idealist, whatever he may in later years imagine about his philosophical line. This inconsistency, however, is again only partly the personal fault of Mr. Bertrand Russell. In essence it is *inseparable* from every dualistic viewpoint. And the viewpoint of Mr. Russell is a decidedly dualistic one in spite of the fact that he himself calls it a " neutral monism." It is strange how far a man's illusions about his own mind can go !

And it is, by the way, not merely a curious fact that this philosopher calls his eclecticism " neutral *monism.*" The source of it lies not only in his illusions about himself and the real nature of his philosophy, but in the fact that he knows the history of philosophy somewhat better than does

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Mr. Hook. He very well knows that he would *unpardonably expose* himself and his philosophical standing if he did not represent his theories as *monism.* Non-monistic philosophies are compromised so much by the history of philosophy that he must stick to the *word* monism even if in every essential he is an adherent of dualism, of an inconsistent *subjective* idealism, the absurdest kind of idealism.[10]

In the light of these facts we shall learn with some surprise that, in the opinion of Mr. Hook, monistic philosophy is anything but a consistent philosophy, but that on the contrary, its logic is "self-defeating." Why so? To answer this question I am unfortunately compelled to quote Mr. Hook *in extenso*—whether my readers like it or not.

> "On any monistic theory", he declares, "which holds that the universe is organically determined through and through—whether it be the absolute idealism of Hegel or orthodox dialectical materialism—it follows that we cannot know the truth about anything unless we know the truth about everything, that if we are wrong about anything we *must* be wrong about everything, that if any single event had turned differently every other event in the history of nature and man would have been different, that genuine possibility and novelty become mysteries whose existence can be admitted only at the cost of glaring contradiction. Fortunately, even those who refuse to learn from experience cannot believe such a philosophy to be true, for its very logic is self-defeating. Since at no time can anyone in his senses maintain that he knows the truth about everything, he must admit in accordance with the premises that the philosophy of organic determinism cannot be true nor, if true, can it be known to be true." (*The Meaning of Marx*, pp. 129-130. Mr. Hook's italics.—L.R.)

Even if Mr. Hook again calls me a "philosophical illiterate" I don't know what organic determinism means. I frankly confess my ignorance. I know *mechanical* (abstract) determinism and *dialectical* determinism. The first repudiates *accident* as an objective category in nature and history (as the French materialists did in the eighteenth century, or as Comrade Bukharin has done in our days); the latter regards both necessity and accident as objective categories which in nature as well as in history dialectically change into one another (thus Hegel, Marx, Engels and Lenin). Consequently what Mr. Hook says about Hegel shows utter ignorance of this philosopher. Hegel was *monistic* (in the sense explained above) but only in the imagination of Mr. Hook does this mean the "glaring" nonsense he ascribes to Hegelian philosophy. He simply does not know what the term monism means. Or may be he knows it, but again he distorts the facts to suit Mr. Hook. For a change, he now distorts the

[10]Compare his statement: "The physicists of our day no longer believe in nature. That in itself, however, would be no great loss, provided we could still have a large and varied external world, but unfortunately they have not supplied us with any reason for believing in a non-material external world." (Russell: *The Scientific Outlook*, p. 85.) That is to say, there is neither a material nor a non-material external world! This he calls "further removed from idealism than from materialism!"

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facts of the history of philosophy in order to be able to concoct the "genuine novelty" presented to his readers as the essence of "any monistic theory."

The French materialists were monists to no less a degree than Hegel. Nevertheless, Hegel's viewpoint on the question of determinism was diametrically opposed to that of the French materialists, as every schoolboy nowadays knows. Consequently this question has nothing to do with monism, it relates exclusively to the difference between *mechanism* and *dialectics*. But even Mr. Hook will not dare deny that Hegel was one of the greatest dialecticians. This shows what arrant nonsense it is to link up a mechanist standpoint (even if not distorted as by Mr. Hook) on the question of determination with the monism of Hegel. But to say that Hegel regarded "genuine possibility and novelty" as "mysteries whose existence can be admitted only at the cost of glaring contradiction" shows still more that Mr. Hook has only very spurious notions about the philosophy of this great thinker. Indeed it is no "mystery" for anybody, with the exception of Mr. Hook, that Hegel not only recognises "genuine novelty," but that his whole philosophy in entirely *based* on this recognition, on the concept of *becoming*. It is true that Hegel explains the origin of the new by the struggle of the opposites, by the dialectical *contradiction*. But to consider the dialectical contradiction of Hegel as "glaring contradiction" is again not very favourable to the reputation of New York University, not to mention the fact that it sufficiently characterizes the kind and the level of Mr. Hook's own philosophy.

But not only to Hegel, to Engels also is ascribed the mechanist standpoint in determinism. At least implicitly. For Mr. Hook reproaches Engels too with having a monistic system.

> Already, he writes, in his *Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* (one section of which was written by Marx), we find a treatment of mooted problems of metaphysics, science and ethical practice from the point of view of a monistic system rather than of a unified method. (*Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, p. 35.)

The assertion that Engels treats the problems of metaphysics, etc., from the point of view of a monistic *system* is again worthy of Mr. Hook's level of knowledge. Once more every schoolboy ought to know the words of Engels:

> This work (Anti-Dühring, L.R.), cannot in any way aim at presenting another system as an alternative to Herr Dühring's system. (Engels: *Anti-Dühring*, p. 10, English edition.)

Anyhow Mr. Hook recognizes here the fact that Engels' philosophy was *monistic*. Now, since "any *monistic* theory" is in his eyes connected with a mechanistic conception of determinism, this holds good also for Engels' monism. But any one who knows the famous chapter on necessity and accident in Engels' *Anti-Dühring* (now available also for

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English readers), knows that this is perfectly untrue. Not to mention other famous passages in Engels' *Naturdialektik* in which he sharply criticises the mechanical standpoint of abstract necessity.

But why this aversion to monistic theory on the part of Mr. Hook? It is no "mystery," This aversion only hides his aversion to *materialism.* This I will show in the next section.

(*To be continued.*)

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

Women under Fascism and Communism. Hilda Browning. (Martin Lawrence.) 48 pp. 6d.

Essays in the History of Materialism. George Plekhanov. (John Lane.) 287 pp. 7s. 6d.

Martins' Annual. Edited by Joan Beauchamp. (Martin Lawrence.) 96 pp. 2s. 6d.

Why the U.S.S.R. Joined the League. Introduction by Hugh Dalton. (New Fabian Research Bureau and Victor Gollancz Ltd.) 36 pp. 1s.

Europe—West and East and *An A.B.C. of Communism*: both by Scott Nearing, P.O. Box 516, Ridgewood, N.J., U.S.A. 10 cents each.

Non-Flam Films. Some observations on the proposed Home Office regulations, etc., etc. National Council for Civil Liberties, 3 Dansey Place, Wardour Street, W.1. 4d. (4½d. post free).

The Class Struggles in France: 1848-50. Karl Marx. (Martin Lawrence.) 159 pp. 3s. 6d.

Marx-Engels Marxism. V. I. Lenin. (Martin Lawrence.) 226 pp. 5s.

Marx & Engels Selected Correspondence: 1846-1895. With commentary and notes. (Martin Lawrence.) 551 pp. 12s. 6d.

Ludwig Feuerbach: The Outcome of Classical German Philosophy. Frederick Engels. Introduction by L. Rudas. (Martin Lawrence.) 101 pp. 3s. 6d.

Reorganisation of the Work of the Trade Unions. N. M. Shvernik. Friends of the Soviet Union. 66 pp. 3d.

Six Soviet Plays. Edited by Eugene Lyons. (Gollancz.) 608 pp. 7s. 6d.

An Intelligent Man's Guide to Jew-Baiting. George Sacks. (Gollancz.) 223 pp. 5s.

The Black Consul. Translated by Emile Burns. A. Vinogradov. (Gollancz.) 447 pp. 8s. 6d.

Marxism. J. Middleton Murry, John MacMurray, G. D. H. Cole, N. A. Holdaway. (Chapman & Hall.) 245 pp. 5s.

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BOOK REVIEW

A CRITICAL APPRAISAL OF THE *LEFT REVIEW*.

Left Review. *Nos.* 1–5. October 1934—February 1935. Published by the Writers' International, British Section. C/o Collet's Bookshop, 66 Charing Cross Road. London, W.C.1. 44 pp. 6d.

THE appearance of the *Left Review* is an important development in the revolutionary movement in Britain. It is the organ of the British Section of the Writers' International, founded in February, 1934, which intends to apply, if it has not already done so, for affiliation to the International of Revolutionary Writers. The standpoint of the Writers' International is given in its Draft Statement. We quote:

> There is a crisis of ideas in the capitalist world to-day not less considerable than the crisis in economics . . . .
>
> The decadence of the past twenty years of English literature . . . is the collapse of a culture, accompanying the collapse of an economic system.
>
> There are already a number of writers who realise this; they desire and are working for the ending of the capitalist order of society. They aim at a new order based not on property and profit, but on co-operative effort. They realise that the working class will be the builders of this new order, and see that the change must be revolutionary in effect. Even those, to whom politics are secondary, desire to ally themselves more closely with the class that will build Socialism.

The Association groups writers:

> "who see in the development of Fascism the terrorist dictatorship of dying capitalism and a menace to all the best achievements of human culture, and consider that the best in the civilisation of the past can only be preserved and further developed by joining in the struggle of the working class for a new socialist society;" and further those writers "who will use their pens and their influence against imperialist war and in defence of the Soviet Union, the State where the foundations of Socialism have already been laid, and will expose the hidden forms of war being carried on against the Indian, Irish, African and Chinese peoples."

This is also the standpoint of the *Left Review*, and the appearance of a paper setting out to realise these principles is an event we heartily welcome. It is a further sign that the former attitude of detachment common among intellectuals is being abandoned under the pressure of Fascism and the struggle against it; as in every other country, particularly in the recent period in America and France, the intellectuals of Britain are also now realising that they must fight, and on the side of the workers. The founders of the *Left Review* have provided a means of mobilising and concentrating their energy, and uniting it with the class-conscious workers. Instead of a number of individuals each working along his own line, we have an organ which has succeeded in drawing together on this common fighting platform a wide range of authors and artists including such representative names in present-day literature as James Hanley, Naomi Mitchison, Storm Jameson, John Lehmann, C. Day Lewis, Sylvia Townsend Warner, John Strachey, Charles Madge, Edgell Rickword, Hugh MacDiarmid, etc., as well as contributions from Sassoon, Shaw, Priestley, Zweig and others. The creation of such an organ is a valuable achievement.

Its broad basis is at once a source of strength and of danger. For dissatisfaction with the existing social conditions, and even intellectual conviction of the necessity of Communism, does not necessarily eradicate long habits. There

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is the danger that the good intentions of some circles supporting the *Left Review* should still be coloured by the ideology it is out to fight. It is here that the revolutionary working class should be on the lookout, and that its friendly criticism can most help.

Up to the present, the contents of the *Left Review* fall into two main groups: original contributions, and critical and theoretical articles.

The original articles, especially those by the worker writers, have great value: they give the reality of the fight from day to day, the bodily reality of the fighters. They show the railwaymen coming out on strike; resistance to Bedaux springing into organised life; the sick, empty hunger of the unemployed among the glittering shops. Sometimes the isolated, powerless worker is so prominent as to hide the strength of his class around him. But particularly in "Mischief Maker" by Blumenfeld, it is the whole factory that acts; also by skilful changing of the standpoint sometimes within the same paragraph he shows the whole industrial battlefield, this richness of construction being intensified by the colloquial vigour of his language (he has a good vocabulary—"drool of spit").

By comparison the theoretical articles, and to a lesser extent the critical articles, tend to abstractness and vagueness.

The reason for this may partly be found in the fact that in one decisive point the basis of the *Left Review* is unsatisfactory. The Statement proposes that its membership should include all writers opposed to the cultural menace of Fascism. Then it puts forward a second, distinct group of writers, who "if members of the working class, desire to express in their work more effectively than in the past, the struggle of their class." Why this "*if*"?—this division between bourgeois and working class writers? Are only bourgeois writers concerned with the revolutionary cultural fight against Fascism? Are only working class writers in need of learning "to express . . . more effectively than in the past"? Are only working class writers to express the struggle of the working class? What then are bourgeois writers to express? This class division of revolutionary writers is a monstrosity.

Its consequences along one line come out most glaringly in the work of Amabel Williams-Ellis. She appears as the expert who knows all about "this business" of writing, and is going to pass it on in a correspondence course for the poor workers. She first warns against the use of jargon, which includes just the words important to the revolutionary movement, such as "mass-struggle," "victimisation," "ideology." She bars "flag," because it produces a sensation of "slight nausea." And the Red Flag?—also "slight nausea"? In their place she advocates a technique that will appeal to the "deeper," "more primitive," "emotional layers" of the mind. She throws overboard the exact terms of revolution and keeps the jargon of a watery psycho-analysis. To replace Marx by Jung is not the job of a revolutionary paper. But that is the effect in practice of isolating the bourgeois writers, as the Statement implicitly does, from the working-class struggle.

The same weakness shows itself in another side of the theoretical discussions. Here the general standpoint, expressed particularly by M. Slater, is that there are no real social and cultural relations to-day (125 ff). Strachey also says that we are living in a "cultural vacuum" (67). E. Rickword speaks of writers "not belonging to a living community" (20). In the opinion of one of the editors of the *Left Review*, there were social relations once, but they have

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been destroyed by the commodity or money relationships established under capitalism; the task is now "to re-establish free human relationships" (127).

This formulation is weak in the first place, because it sets up a vague ideal of free human relationships to be *re*-established out of the *past*, that can only confuse the present work of creating a free society. Further, what advantage is there in opposing commodity relations to social relations as two different kinds of relation, when Marx's analysis of the commodity was made to show that "it is a definite social relation between men that assumes . . . the fantastic form of a relation between things"? To speak of relations between commodities, between things (M. Slater speaks of action and passion between Rolls-Royces and macadam roads, p. 125), instead of speaking of the social relations Marx revealed beneath the commodity fetish, only blurs the vital difference between the social relations we want to abolish and the social relations we want to develop. When, as a result of this formulation in terms of commodity relations, it is said of writers that they do not belong to a "living community", is not "living community" being used in a peculiar sense perilously near to the transcendentalism Rickword attacks?

This discussion in terms of ideal social relations destroyed by money relations misses the real work of developing the social relations existing in the fight for Socialism, the existing elements of proletarian culture. Instead of developing them by applying them in our thought, such discussion unconsciously carries on earlier romantic ideals of a society that satisfies "communal needs" (78); or where contributors speak of making a clean break with the past, it means that they are crippling themselves by attempting an impossibility, and that, because such a break is an impossibility, again the past is being unconsciously carried forward. But it is just these unconscious ties with the past—all the tones and implications of a phrase like "living community"—that revolutionary thought has critically to examine. Such clarifying of ideas, in order to develop a proletarian culture on the achieved basis of production, is an essential part of the workers' struggle. The neglect of it, for the discussion of social relations in the abstract, is the same weakness as assigning only to the worker writers the task of expressing the workers' struggle. If this split were not made, if it was put forward as the task of all writers, bourgeois and workers, to express the workers' struggle, the theoretical discussion would not have been left to wander about in abstract fields.

These weaknesses dissipate the energy which the *Left Review* should concentrate. It has consequently still something of the character of a "miscellany" instead of the organ of a movement with a perfectly clear aim. Though very successful already along the line of creative contributions, it is not yet realising all its possibilities in building a single anti-Fascist front of all writers willing to help and in clarifying the intellectual and artistic issues. For the former, a more concrete treatment of what Fascism means for literature is needed and a more actively fighting position (contrast Winifred Holtby's article on "What We Read," which is on a very superficial level on an important subject); for the latter, a more systematic treatment of the questions involved, with more contributions from Marxist writers.

Once more, we heartily welcome the *Left Review* and wish it all success in its future development.

ALICK WEST.

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THE LABOUR MONTHLY UNITED FRONT CONFERENCE

[*In view of the importance of the issues arising from the Conference, the* LABOUR MONTHLY *decided to make a special appeal for funds for the printing of this Supplement. This has been successful. The attention of readers is drawn to the fact that the funds for this Supplement are quite apart from the amounts acknowledged in the lists attached to the principal Financial Appeal.* (*See page 133*).]

I. INTRODUCTORY ANALYSIS

THE LABOUR MONTHLY Delegate Conference for the United Front against Fascism and War, held at the Kingsway Hall on January 26, was a powerful demonstration of the advance of the united front movement throughout the working-class organisations. The splendid response to the Conference (despite the move to a larger hall, necessitated at the last moment by the volume of applications for sending delegates, the Conference was packed out, many visitors having to be turned away and many standing throughout the proceedings), the representative character of the delegates, the enthusiasm of the speeches, the keen demand for practical steps, and the unanimous resolution for a Second Conference with mandated delegates, all revealed the growing forces in the present stage of the movement, the overwhelming demand for working-class unity in action, the deep and wide feeling against the danger of fascism and war, and the urgent necessity to proceed to more definite steps in hastening forward the organisation of the nation-wide Anti-Fascist Front.

The composition of the Conference, according to the Credentials Report, revealed 257 delegates from 150 organisations, with the addition of 60 visitors. (See opposite page).

The main aggregate groupings show: Trade Union organisations, 66 delegates; Co-operatives, 42; Labour Party organisations, 40; United Front bodies, 34; Independent Labour Party, 32; Communist Party, 17. There were 28 delegates from women's organisations, and 36 delegates from Youth organisations.

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	No. of organisations.	No. of delegates.
Trades Councils or Trades and Labour Councils	6	7
Trade Union Bodies (from 14 trade unions, including 3 National Executives and 1 District Committee	30	59
Local Labour Parties	10	15
Labour Party, Women's Sections	2	4
Labour Leagues of Youth	7	14
Co-operative Organisations (5 Political Councils, 19 Guilds, 4 Comrades' Circles)	28	42
Socialist League	2	7
Independent Labour Party and Guilds of Youth ..	18	32
Communist Party and Y.C.L.	11	17
Anti-Fascist, Anti-War and united front bodies ..	19	34
Student Societies	5	5
Other Labour, Socialist and cultural organisations ..	12	31
	150	257

The range of speakers, 15 in all, covered a varied ground, including representatives of local labour parties, co-operative political councils, trade union branches and rank-and-file movements, the I.L.P. London Divisional Council and the C.P. London District Committee. In addition, 15 further speakers were on the Chairman's list, whom the limits of time prevented from being called.

What did the Conference achieve ?

First, it expressed strongly the rank-and-file demand for working-class unity in the fight against fascism and war, and brought into contact elements striving for the united working-class front in many different fields of the working-class movement.

The Chairman, H. Brierley, of the Hemel Hempstead Divisional Labour Party Executive, declared :

> The Southport Conference with its trade union bloc did not express the rank-and-file views of either the trade unions or the Labour Party.

The difficulty, he stated, was just the " lack of contact " between the members of the different organisations. Mrs. Leah Manning, Labour candidate for Sunderland, gave as her experience :

> I do not think anybody who has come up against the rank-and-file organisations of the London Transport Workers, the London Printers, the workers in the various markets, can feel anything else but that the rank-and-file is anxious and willing and definitely prepared for this united working class front, anxious for a solidarity movement against war and fascism, anxious for a reversal of the Southport policy.

J. Ganley, of the Battersea Co-operative Political Council, called attention to the fact that :

> the active members of the co-operative movement know where they are going, more perhaps than you would give them credit for

and are strongly awakening to the need for a fight against the official policy and for a common front.

Second, the call was sounded to fight the Labour Party ban on the united front, and to fight for a reversal of the official policy of the Labour Party

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and the trade unions on the united front, and on the fight against fascism and war.

The opening speech of Mrs. Manning proclaimed the strongest lead in this direction :

> I am a loyal member of the Labour Party, and I object to anyone telling me I am not. I have a perfect and legitimate right as a rank-and-file member to work for the reversal of the decisions of any conference. If the Right Wing of the Party, can alter decisions such as the decision against war taken at Hastings, to the decision taken at Southport, which makes it possible to support imperialist war, how can anyone deny us the legitimate prerogative which is ours to alter this decision about war, as well as others with which we do not agree, at the **next** Labour Party Conference. I say that it is your job, a most important job at the present moment, to get a reversal of that decision.

Change the delegates to the Labour Party Conference and to the trade union conferences and elect only supporters of the united front—this call was sounded again and again. J. Cronin of the Printers' Anti-Fascist Movement pointed out the difficulties arising from the undemocratic character of the machinery :

> We are in a difficult position to send different delegates as far as the trade unions are concerned. The trade union officials go there because they are trade union officials. They never come before us and say : " Here is an item on the agenda ; we are here for your instructions as to what we shall do on this question." So much for their democracy.

B. Sharkey, of the Busmen's section of the Transport and General Workers' Union, showed how they were fighting through the difficulties in respect of the biennial conference of the T.G.W.U. :

> So far as London transport workers are concerned, we are seeing to it that this year's representation will be of the militant members of the organisation.

Third, the call was sounded to build unity at once in the actual fight, in the daily struggle, in the local struggles.

The call for the achievement of unity through action was the strongest keynote of the Conference. This was especially stressed in two of the most strongly applauded speeches, one of Willis, of the South Tottenham Labour League of Youth, the other of Bramley, of the London District Committee of the Communist Party. Willis declared :

> In practice it is in this way we can build a united front, not so much in getting into the Council of your Labour Party and stressing what a fine thing it would be to sign a pact with the C.P. and I.L.P., but telling them to participate in some kind of action in your locality, to demonstrate on February 24th against the new Unemployment Act. Marching in the demonstration you will find in practice the united front which we desire. . . . We must find out the work to do in the locality and struggle together.

Fourth, the demand was strongly expressed to go forward with definite organising steps on a wide basis in order to develop further the united front.

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Many of the delegates were impatient to go forward with provisional organisation already on the basis of the present Conference, which had only been called on a discussion basis in order to find common ground on the issues and methods of the fight for the united front. It was recognised, however, that any such proposal would be premature, and that the first task was to build up the movement in the localities and in the working-class organisations, in order then to come together on a strong basis.

The shortness of time, and the fact that many of the delegates were not mandated from their organisations to reach definite decisions on policy, made it impossible at this stage to reach definite resolutions on policy (a summary of the main conclusions embodied in the discussion, and subsequently circulated to delegates, is appended at the end of the Report). It was decided, however, in a unanimous recommendation from the Conference to urge the holding of a Second United Front Conference in the near future, consisting of the delegates to the present Conference together with the delegates of other organisations, this time mandated by their organisations to reach decisions on policy, which should reach definite decisions on future policy and methods of organisation to develop the campaign.

The strong demand expressed at the Conference (and also in a number of letters subsequently received with regard to the Conference) for further organising steps and practical measures to draw together all the forces supporting the united front is a very important sign of the times. The movement is growing throughout the country, and the LABOUR MONTHLY Conference was only one expression among many of this growing movement. It is now very necessary for all concerned to take thought as to the further steps in the development of the campaign, in order that a powerful united anti-fascist front shall be realised in Britain, capable of withstanding the fascist attack and carrying forward the whole fight. Such a wide all-embracing anti-fascist front can only be realised, step by step, on the basis of the realisation of the united working-class front in the localities, in the development of the struggle for the demands of the unemployed, in the development of the gathering wage struggles, in the development of anti-fascist propaganda and organisation, and in the development of the fight against the National Government. The question cannot be narrowed down to any still limited meeting of delegates, representing only a minority of the working class, endeavouring to form any isolated organisation ; the rôle of such conferences is essentially to stimulate and extend the wider movement ; the question is above all a question of developing and organising the wider mass movement, in order to lead to the future all-embracing mass front.

The January 26 Delegate Conference has marked an important stage in the development of the united front movement in the London area ;

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and there is scope for similar Conferences, as are being already held in many districts, throughout the country. It is now the responsibility of all the delegates to this Conference to carry its lessons and lead into their organisations and develop the movement on a still wider scale throughout the working class, so that the proposed Second Conference shall represent a still wider basis, be able to build on the experience reached in the further development of the movement, and to assist in carrying forward the movement to a new stage.

The proposal for the Second Delegate Conference on the United Front, as unanimously recommended by the January Conference, is now receiving the careful attention of the LABOUR MONTHLY ; and a further announcement will be made in next month's issue. In the meantime all organisations represented, and all other organisations interested, are urged to send in proposals and resolutions for the agenda of this Conference. The value of the Conference will depend on (1) the still wider representative character of the delegations ; (2) the development of the united front movement in the localities, so that the delegates come with definite experience and further proposals ; (3) the careful preparation of the issues of policy and organisation involved, so that these issues can already be discussed in the organisations.

II. REPORT OF CONFERENCE

The Conference was opened by the Chairman, **H. Brierley,** an E.C. member of the Hemel Hempstead Divisional Labour Party. A Standing Orders Committee of nine was elected, consisting of one delegate each from the Trade Union, Co-operative, Labour Party, I.L.P., C.P., Socialist League and Anti-Fascist bodies represented, and two from the Editorial Board of the LABOUR MONTHLY.

The Chairman read messages from D. N. Pritt, K.C., regretting his inability to be present, but wishing the Conference "every success": from Storm Jameson and Sylvia Townsend Warner, also regretting their inability to be present: from the Tonbridge Divisional Labour Party, regretting their inability to send a delegate owing to expense, but wishing the Conference success, stating also that the circular of invitation to the Conference "was well discussed at our E.C. meeting, and all delegates assembled desire me to write you expressing our appreciation of your endeavour to face up to the issues of War and Fascism."

The Chairman, in his opening remarks, pointed out that the Southport Conference, with its trade union bloc did not express the rank-and-file views of either the trade unions or the Labour Party. At the present time, he said, we are faced with a lack of contact between members of these organisations ; at the same time, there was a strong and healthy desire to delve into the questions of the united front and to arrive at some definite conclusions. It was for these reasons especially that he welcomed this Conference.

The following letter to the Conference was then read from the Editor of the LABOUR MONTHLY, **R. Palme Dutt.**

Dear Comrades,

The aim of the present Conference is to provide an opportunity for representatives of all sections of the working-class movement to make a serious attempt to reach common ground on present problems, and in particular on the most urgent question of all—the question of unity in the fight against fascism and war.

We all know the present situation. Fascism rules in half Europe, establishing a never before equalled dictatorship against the working class. The threat of war is daily stronger and visible to all. New measures are being carried against the working-class in Britain, which visibly prepare the way for future fascism. Capitalism, unable to solve its contradictions, is driving to ever greater general destruction.

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We all know that only united working-class action can stem this menace and change the direction of events. This is the lesson of Germany, of all the experiences in Europe. Whatever our views on the controversial questions, on the rôles of different politics and parties, this lesson is admitted by all. Yet have we drawn the practical conclusions? Two years after Hitler, have we achieved unity in the countries where fascism has not yet conquered? If not, why not?

The French workers have achieved their unity and are driving back the advance of fascism. The workers in a number of other countries have achieved unity. Under the overwhelming pressure of the workers' demand the Second International has been compelled to withdraw its ban on the united front. But Britain, Holland, Sweden and other countries still maintain their opposition to the united front. What must we do in Britain to change this?

What is the situation in Britain? The Labour Party claims to represent the unity of the workers. But at the same time the Labour Party by its Southport Conference decisions has cancelled the Hastings decision to resist all war, and has declared for the necessity of supporting war "to preserve the nation and its democratic institutions." That means inevitably support of imperialist war. Further, the Labour Party opposes all struggle against fascism, as was shown on September 9, and preaches passive faith in "democratic institutions"—the fatal path followed by German Social Democracy. Thus, the fact that there are millions of workers in the Labour Party does not yet mean that we have working-class unity in the struggle against fascism and war.

We have not yet got working-class unity in the struggle in Britain. That is the first big fact to get clear. It is not just a question of the Labour Party and the Communist Party and the Independent Labour Party. If that were all the question, it might be argued, as the Labour Party leaders sometimes argue, that the Labour Party is so big, and the other parties so small, that a united front between them could not be very important or urgent. But this is not the root of the question. This is only the outer form of the question, because it is these small parties that have put forward the proposal for the united working-class front. The real question is *the unity of the millions of workers in the struggle* all over the country. We have not got that yet. Look at the trade union confusion and division over the present wage issues. On September 9, we achieved something; but have we a permanent result from this in a great mass front? And how much more might have been achieved if all the working-class organisations had thrown their combined weight into the fight. We could smash the Sedition Act, force up the unemployed scales, compel the dissolution of the fascist organisations, and prepare the way for the real offensive against capitalism and the advance to working-class power.

What are the difficulties in the way? At this Conference we must try to hammer these out, to face them frankly and clearly, by participation of all present, and find the way forward.

One of the difficulties is the Labour Party Executive ban on unity. Knowing the issues at stake, with the whole future of the working-class movement at stake, can we afford to let ourselves be defeated by this ban? It may delay the united front on the national scale. But in the localities we can still build the united working-class front, as is being done in many localities (all-in conferences and committees against fascism, etc.). This is further shown in the rising successful resistance to the Black Circular and the determination of the Trades Councils to maintain their inclusive character. By fighting the way forward in this way, confident that we are not alone, but represent a rising movement, we can both build the united front in practice, and at the same time increase the pressure to compel the ultimate withdrawal of the ban (this was the way the united front was achieved in France, first among the workers from below, then reaching to whole districts, finally on a national scale, breaking through the resistance of the central reformist leadership).

Build the united working-class front in the localities—not merely on a basis of delegate committees and affiliations, but in the factories, in the streets, on the basis of the mass of the workers in the issues of the daily struggle: this is the way forward to strengthen our ranks, to be ready for the attacks of fascism and war and the battles in front, to defeat the reactionary Southport decisions in practice, to make the will of the rank-and-file workers effective, to advance to the fight against capitalism and for socialism.

We cannot afford to fail. The need is urgent and the time is short.

I hope the present Conference may serve a useful purpose in the present developing advance to unity against fascism and war throughout the country, if we discuss freely, frankly, informally, giving consideration to every viewpoint expressed, in comradely fashion, facing every difficulty with a practical approach, and

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inspired with a common determination to overcome the difficulties and to find the way forward to effective unity in the struggle in the present critical situation before the working-class movement. I hope also that delegates will be able to return with a sense of having participated in a useful discussion, clearing the issues, and will be able to make a report to their organisations, clearing the way for further action towards the united working-class front. All good wishes for the success of the Conference.

The first speaker to open the discussion, **Professor H. Levy,** pointed out that with audiences particularly connected with the Co-operative and Labour Movement, while he found they were emotionally solid against fascism, they do not see what steps can be taken to direct their feeling into a real organisational channel. Fascism, he declared, is here now in England ; the fight has been going on, but not with our maximum energy or in the most efficient way. Contemporary events show clearly how the democratic machine has been used for bringing fascism into open power. If fascism is to come into power in that way, he said, the rank-and-file members of some organisations are going to be converted. Therefore, firstly one must point out the particular kind of fascism that is showing itself in each case and how it will affect a member of a trade union or a co-operative society. You must take the fascist case as it is put, and answer it.

Professor Levy said that for many years he had belonged to the Fabian Society, and looking at it now he could see that what he called Socialism was in essence fascism. Recently, he said, when examining the case for fascism at a meeting, he found himself stating the case rather like that for the kind of corporations one has come to associate with Herbert Morrison. To a fascist the country must have discipline to a leader in unquestioned charge of the state machine. I would ask members of the working class who look on Socialism simply as the nationalisation by the State of the different industries to see whether they are not approaching close to fascism without realising it.

Mosley is the dramatic centre of Fascism in this country, but the National Government is the symbol of the hard core of Fascism. This consolidation of finance capitalism into fascism has already begun to press on the workers. A study must be made of how, for example, your co-operative branch is being affected ; many realise that all this *national* fixing of prices and *national* marketing boards implies that the consumer's surplus is threatened and the co-operatives will be simply joint stock companies. This means that you must take up rank-and-file organisation, otherwise the great Co-operative Movement will simply vanish. The Co-operative Movement has a very important part to play in the future in the struggle for Socialism and now in the fight against Fascism, so also, with the trade union and the political movement.

In view of the fact that the press decides almost above everything else the outlook of the people in this country, Professor Levy suggested that if the *News-Chronicle*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Daily Herald*, for example, were to realise they were possibly in danger of being heavily censored or even closed down, might they not be prepared to take steps now about it, to resist Fascism. Representatives of every kind of paper, national, daily, weekly, quarterly, and those that circulate in particular areas might be called to a national conference to bring home the dangers of fascism for them. There would not then be any difficulty about getting the news disseminated. We have got to make use of every opportunity we can to fight Fascism. Or again, the B.B.C. must be smothered in protests every time an utterance with a fascist tendency is voiced, for it is scared of organised criticism. Demand so-called "impartiality" by pressing for left speakers and not leave it to such speakers to fight the battle alone.

Finally, we must get rid of criticisms of other workers' organisations when dealing with this matter. It is not enough to be merely anti-fascist. It is up to you to close your ranks. If you succeed in this, Fascism is impotent.

Mrs. Leah Manning, who was the second opening speaker in the discussion, said she had been primarily concerned in the last few months in her spare time with the fight against fascism which the growing united front movement in this country had made the central motive of its endeavours. While Professor Levy had dealt principally with how you must analyse fascism and what to say to your colleagues in the trade union, labour and co-operative movement she had agreed to concentrate more on the practical side of the issue.

In controverting the idea of so many people that fascism was a very remote problem in this country, Mrs. Manning pointed out how the democratic machine had been used by the National Government with its swollen majority to bring forward its Sedition Bill and Unemployment Bill, and to introduce many methods of bringing about a corporate state in this country. She declared that the only successful method of arousing the working class to this danger was through mass

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resistance and the use of United Front methods and organisation. But you say we are loyal members of the Labour Party and T.U.C., etc., and are therefore forbidden to take part in united front demonstrations such as that of September 9th, which, she claimed, was, in her opinion, the outstanding event of the year in the fight against fascism. To illustrate her point, Mrs. Manning described how in France the workers all the past summer fought to get united action between the left and the right, though the latter was just as strong in its belief in democracy, just as opposed to the communist movement as Transport House. As Dutt advised us to do they began, after finding their resolutions for a united front turned down, to build up a united front movement in the localities ; after this they were able to come to the July Conference of the French Socialist (or Labour) Party and thus obtain an enormous majority in favour of setting up a united front against war and fascism. This is the way we must do it here.

I am, declared Mrs. Manning, a loyal member of the Labour Party, but I want to put it to you that when the members of your trade union or labour party say that we must be loyal to Transport House, that one cannot run a machine without discipline, you must reply that the decisions of a Conference are not static, that it is perfectly legitimate to try to alter decisions. If not, how can we account for the change in policy from Hastings to Southport ? If the Right Wing of the Party can alter decisions such as the decision against War taken at Hastings, to the decision taken at Southport, which makes it possible to support Imperialist War, how can anyone deny us the legitimate prerogative which is ours to alter this decision about war, as well as others with which we do not agree at the *next* Labour Party Conference. I say it is your job—a most important job at the present moment—to get a reversal of that decision.

The speaker then summarised the change in the position of the Labour and Socialist International (L.S.I.). How last year in July the French Socialist Party concluded its proposals for a United Front with the Communist Party and as a result were able to stem the rising tide of fascism in France and were really responsible for the overthrow of their reactionary Doumergue Government. Then at the Brussels meeting of the L.S.I. how Vandervelde and Adler both expressed their belief in the United Front. But the British Labour Party in conjunction with the Scandinavian *bloc*, etc., were able to defeat a proposal to carry out a united front on an international scale ; by this move, declared Mrs. Manning, I, as a member of the British Labour Party, feel both humiliated and shamed. Nevertheless, there *was* removed the ban on the conclusion of united front agreements on the part of bodies affiliated to the L.S.I. This ban had affected France, Belgium, Spain, Austria and Italy where united front agreements had already been individually concluded. The freedom from this ban is a most important advance in the struggle against war and fascism. For otherwise, as in Spain where right up to three weeks of the struggle the ban had operated, this would have greatly embarrassed the workers. Yet the Spanish workers, having concluded that agreement, will go down in working class history as the first workers in Europe to take the offensive against Fascism.

Moreover, nearly half of the comrades representing countries affiliated to the L.S.I. passed a further resolution expressing the hope that the negotiations for a united front agreement between the 2nd and 3rd Internationals, so far abortive, will now be successfully concluded. What must be done to achieve this ? I do not think anybody who has come up against the rank and file organisations of the London Transport Workers, the London Printers, the workers in the various markets, can feel anything else but that the rank and file is anxious and willing and definitely prepared for this working class united front, anxious for a solidarity movement in this country against war and fascism, anxious for a reversal of the Southport policy. We must go back to our organisations and work in that direction instead of being scared by black circulars from Transport House ; we must be prepared to go as instructed delegates to the next Labour Party Conference in order to alter such decisions as those on war and the united front. As regards the trade unions you are up against a very different proposition. If you want to shift the trade union *bloc* vote you will have to change entirely the type of delegation and instead of electing people who can be relied upon to vote in the right way —in support of the platform—you will have to send people who will carry out the instructed policy which their trade unions, etc., have told them to take forward.

I hope that it will be possible to arrange for further Conferences of this description in all parts of the country and not only in London to evolve, as I hope will be done to-day, a practical policy for a united front against war and fascism in this country.

The next speaker in the discussion was **Ted Willis** (South Tottenham Labour League of Youth). I want to say, he declared, that there is that demand for unity, referred to by Comrade Leah Manning and Comrade Levy, also existing

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in the Labour League of Youth, but that in the League and in the Labour Party this demand is not always expressed as a demand for the united front. In fact, continually I find that the desire for unity for action for some kind of struggle against capitalism is expressed, but no desire to form a united front with the local C.P. and I.L.P. The difficulty we have to face up to is this: how can we draw local labour parties, and leagues of youth into some day-to-day activity where they will find themselves struggling alongside members of the C.P. and I.L.P. In practice it is in this way that we can build the united front, and not so much by getting on to the council of your labour party and stressing what a fine thing it would be to sign a pact with the C.P. and I.L.P. Rather you must tell them to participate in some kind of action in your locality, to demonstrate on February 24 against the new Unemployment Act. Marching on the demonstration you will find in practice the united front which we desire. If after first working out some ground for an attack we come into the struggle, we invariably find that in the struggle on the streets are the local C.P. and I.L.P. members. There in practice on the streets of London we shall have some measure of unity.

J. Ganley (South Battersea Co-operative Political Council), after pointing out how Prof. Levy had addressed many meetings up and down the country both of the London Co-operative Society and of other societies, agreed that he was quite right in declaring that the most active members of the co-operative movement know where they are going more perhaps than you would give them credit for. I too, he said, have seen the same faces at different conferences time and time again, but where I see them is on the platform, and they will jockey you into anything. If we do not get active in our organisations and continually show up the autocratic methods of these people in the official positions they occupy, we know where we shall soon be.

Ted Bramley (London District Committee of the Communist Party) said that he did not think there was the slightest doubt that the recent events in Europe, coupled with the growth of fascism in this country, have led to the most serious thoughts among the workers in this country and have produced a bigger fighting spirit than at any time since 1926. In the opinion of the Communist Party this question of realising the united front has now become a life and death question. 1934 has witnessed a tremendous growth in the unity of the workers in European countries. But in this country we have not been able to establish it. If anything has been proved by the events in Germany, in Austria, in Spain, and in France, it is that indicated by Leah Manning when she pointed out that faith in democratic movements has not saved the workers of Germany. In England undoubtedly the outstanding obstacle in the realisation of the United Front, as already indicated by Leah Manning, is the ban imposed by the leaders of the British Labour Party which has had a terrible effect in preventing the workers realising what they have realised in other countries. It was evident that but for the action of the British Labour Party leaders in the middle of last year, when the events in Spain were attracting attention, we should have seen a Communist International and a Labour and Socialist International together with all other working-class organisations combined in the greatest international working-class movement ever known. I want to say that our Party will do everything in its power at its forthcoming national congress to guarantee that at the general election, not only that Communists are returned to Parliament, but also Labour candidates, pledged to unity in the fulfilment of the demands of the working class.

Some workers feel that the Communist Party should liquidate itself and disperse and come into the ranks of the Labour Party, but if that had been done in the countries of Europe there would have been no united front embracing all the workers. Besides in Spain it is precisely in those areas where the Communist Party was strongest—in the Asturias—that the struggle was most successful. Ted Bramley concluded by declaring that the immediate task was to take up the fight against the new unemployment relief scales.

At this point the delegates unanimously endorsed the motion immediately to send a telegram of greetings to the Conference called by the South Wales Miners' Federation against the Unemployment Act, which was taking place that afternoon.

The next speaker **C. Crawley** (Harrow Branch of the Amalgamated Engineering Union) declared that he believed that we had already got 99 per cent. fascism in this country to-day. If a working-class man, for instance, joins the Air Force they will see that he doesn't go up and handle the bombs that are going to be dropped when there is a demonstration, or when there is some trouble for the working class in this country. They see that only the sons of their own class are allowed to go up and handle aeroplanes that throw bombs. Here they are organising fascism in a quieter way but just as effectively as they have done in Germany, and if we

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don't get a united front in this country very soon, well we can knuckle under and take it easy because there is no chance of fighting—they have got us by the neck. I am not here on this platform to sling mud at any political party and at the same time to ask for a united front with them, but after all there is nothing like a straight talk. Probably I should never have had time to join the Friends of the Soviet Union, the League Against Imperialism, as I did, and other organisations that have been tabooed by the Labour Party, but having been tabooed, I wonder what they are and go and join. Comrades, when I joined I was a member of my Trade Union, a delegate to the Labour Party and from that a delegate to the Divisional Labour Party, but because I had the audacity to join the League against Imperialism and the Friends of the Soviet Union, Jimmy Thomas and Ramsay MacDonald, who were the heads of the Labour Party at that time, tabooed me as a member of the Labour Party—I who was wearing my boots out at election time, going without sleep, putting things in envelopes on behalf of the Labour Party to try to get for them candidates into Parliament who at the next election turn into National candidates. The rank and file in this country have got to unite with me, a member of the League Against Imperialism and of the Friends of the Soviet Union, and I have got to unite with people who still wish to remain in the Labour Party—I don't mean the heads of the Labour Party, they don't interest me. The working class must realise that it is no good them depending too much on the heads of this movement or that, but they have got to fight for what they want, and until they fight they won't get it. If we can get a real united front in this country and put up a real fight and smash capitalism here, this country with the help of Russia can smash fascism right throughout the world.

Speaking as a delegate from the British Section of the World Committee of Women Against War and Fascism, **Mrs. Birtles** described the work of the British Section, how it was building up connections with all women's organisations within the Labour Movement, and also with many feminist organisations, how speakers and material were now available for these organisations. It was necessary to pay particular attention to all such women's bodies, firstly because that was very necessary work, and secondly, because though all women are opposed to war emotionally and psychologically, the difficulty would be that in times of decision they will not know in what way to act. The purpose of this movement is therefore to give them definite training in giving a direction to their very strong feeling against war and fascism in time, and so build up this practical work here in this country.

B. Sharkey (Transport and General Workers' Union and London Busmen's Rank-and-File Movement), recalled how not very long ago busmen used to say: we don't want politics in our branches as it is something which leads to division of opinion and unnecessary friction. But as a result of the foundation of the rank-and-file movement that position has been somewhat changed, and to-day busmen are very quickly realising that politics in the trade union branch represents a struggle for power on the part of the workers. We have established in the rank-and-file movement an anti-fascist movement for transport workers. It is absolutely essential for you delegates representing working-class branches of an organisation to make it known to your fellow members how vital it is for speakers like Prof. Levy and Mrs. Manning and even Ted Bramley to attend these working-class branches in order to point out the dangers of fascism in this country. As far as the London transport workers are concerned, we are seeing that at the Biennial Conference of the T. & G.W.U. this year's representatives will be the militant members of the organisation and we will fight against any move that may be made by our friend from Transport House—you know who I mean—if he tries to put anything across us again. As far as the busmen are concerned, they will do their utmost to bring about this unification, and I recommend that we go back to our organisations to put into action this anti-fascist policy with all the vigour we possess or else we may find that the National Government by some manipulation may definitely tie us to the chariot of fascism.

A. J. Rosenbloom (London Divisional Committee of I.L.P.), while emphasising the fact that the conference had centred on the fight against fascism almost to the exclusion of the question of war, stated that he was sure that if we got on with the work of fighting fascism and all the other attacks of capitalism correctly, then we will also be dealing with the fight against war as it is just another attack of capitalism against the workers. After pointing out that we must have mass action based upon mass activity of the individual workers in the localities both as individuals and also through their organisations, it is our responsibility to see that those who are sympathetic to the fight against fascism are also expressing a desire to *do* something in order to smash fascism.

Rosenbloom said that in his experience at the first meeting of anti-fascist committees there were good speeches, but

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in most cases this is the end of it. We must get over this feeling of disappointment from delegates who want to do something coming to a meeting and all they hear is talk. They must be given something which they can do. Since September 9 the activities of the fascists on the streets have been reduced, but don't think therefore that they have packed up. The leaders of the fascists know how to change their tactics in accordance with the day-to-day position. It is necessary to find out where they are conducting their activities and report all this to the centre. If local committees will ask their supporters for this they will feel that they are doing something worth while. After drawing attention to Mosley's decision to organise a plain clothes fascist membership, and to the fact that they are going to work amongst the working class producing denunciations of the social-democrats as misleading the workers, etc., Rosenbloom concluded by warning against permitting unnecessary defeats owing to incorrect methods as it was vitally necessary to gain the confidence of the workers.

J. Cronin (Printers' Anti-Fascist Movement) pointed out how difficult it had proved to be to send delegations of a different character to the Labour Party Conference as the trade union officials go there because they are trade union officials. Cronin referred to some correspondence that the Printers' Anti-Fascist Movement had had with the National Federation of Printing and Kindred Trades over the fact that trade union labour was being used for printing and circulating fascist propaganda in this country; the reply of the secretary was to the effect that, how dare you take the title of the Printing Anti-Fascist Movement, how dare you raise the question of printing fascist propaganda; do you want to bring about chaos. We of the rank and file have learnt that the leadership in all industries is getting further away from the working-class position. The chapel to which I belong recently referred back a resolution to affiliate to the Printers' Anti-Fascist Movement, and and the officials were asked to make further enquiries so they wrote to Walter Citrine and he replied to the effect that "undoubtedly this is a movement with which the constituents of the T.U.C. should not be associated. It is quite evident from the reference in the note you sent me that it is a movement organised by the communists." Such is the reply from a man who gets his salary from the pennies of the likes of myself. In the pamphlet by myself, which was sent by the chapel officials to Citrine, one of the conditions of membership of the Printers' Anti-Fascist Movement was stated to be that every member should be organised in his appropriate trade union. Yet Citrine after reading this stated that because we are associated with one another as trade unionists undoubtedly we are a communist movement.

The next speaker was **P. Bacon** of the Fabian Nursery. As a member of the Fabian Society he drew attention to two of the difficulties that confront a left-wing socialist who is working inside the labour movement to try to make it really socialist, really anti-fascist, really anti-war. One of these difficulties was the uncritical loyalty among the members of the Labour Party and the second, the uncritical belief that the Labour Party policy is really a socialist policy. Until we have solved these it would be very difficult to build up the united front. It is necessary patiently to explain the contrast between a real socialist policy and the policy of the Labour Party. The real way is not to attack the leaders but to attack their policy. If you do this successfully the rank and file will attack the leaders themselves. Further, he pointed out that the rank and file really believed that war on behalf of a collective peace is an attack on imperialist war. We must again patiently explain how, in fact, it would be an imperialist war, and not merely denounce the Labour Party for thus supporting an imperialist war.

R. Bishop, speaking as a delegate of the Friends of the Soviet Union Executive Committee, asked the conference, to collaborate with the F.S.U. who propose, as the National Council of Labour seems in a position to send a deputation to the Soviet Ambassador, that the rank-and-file members of the united front in this country should also organise a deputation to the Soviet Ambassador to express their belief that the Soviet Government was justified in executing members of terrorist gangs caught red-handed crossing the border states, financed by the governments of these border states, immediately after the assassination of Comrade Kirov. Bishop asked that twenty volunteers from the conference should accompany the F.S.U. deputation the following Wednesday. (The Chairman put this proposal to the meeting, and it was unanimously carried; names were subsequently handed in.)

Mrs. P. Pole (of the Teachers' Anti-War Movement) spoke about the work of this movement, how they now possess an organ, the *Ploughshare*, circulating largely amongst teachers, how many hundreds of supporters have been gathered both in London and in the provinces, and how their aim was to build up local units.

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The next speaker was **R. Page Arnot,** of the LABOUR MONTHLY Editorial Board. Arnot pointed to the almost complete unanimity in favour of the united front against fascism and war in the conference, and to the fact that each speaker contributed towards the whole by stressing some particular aspect of the question in which they had experience. It was necessary, in view of the fact that the form of the conference made it difficult for immediate decisions to be taken, for delegates to pay particular attention to the points which Mrs. Manning would bring out in her closing speech, and on which there had been complete agreement throughout the conference. All delegates can go back to their organisations conveying the spirit of the conference, and especially the feeling of urgency of the situation in this country and of the need to break through all the barriers that are being set up to try and prevent the workers from fighting against war and fascism. While it will certainly be good if we can get as a result of this conference other conferences and if we can set going a movement within organised labour, this will only concern those who go to the branch meetings, to the guilds, and so on ; for we have not yet got the masses of this country on our side. There are scores of thousands who are wondering, for instance, what Lloyd George is going to say, and how he is going to help them. We have got to fight against that very wide tendency fostered by the biggest newspapers in this country. If we can do this, if we can get the streets and factories themselves aroused against fascism and war, then this conference will have been useful.

At this point there were voiced expressions from all over the hall in favour of a further conference being called by the LABOUR MONTHLY, at which delegates could come mandated to take decisions. On this being put to the vote it was carried without any opposition.

Leah Manning in her closing speech stated that if everybody here is convinced of the line taken by the LABOUR MONTHLY in its recent issues with regard to the formation of the united front against war and fascism, it is an extremely healthy sign. Every delegate should work in his own organisation, inside his workshop or trade union to form a rank-and-file movement because it is the rank-and-file movements that are going to break through the present ban on united front activity. Secondly, opinion in favour of this course should be created by you inside whatever delegate body you belong to ; thirdly, you must work in the future to get all-in conferences in the various parts of London and the Home Counties and then all over the country as opportunity offers to discuss the situation, and in addition conferences for particular branches of the movement, particularly for co-operators. Leah Manning declared that the LABOUR MONTHLY was very encouraged by the response, but even with the discussion we are still a little in the dark whether you represent organisations which feel as you do, or whether you are speaking for yourselves. (A delegate : "We'll make them !") That is just what we have to do, to make our organisations think as we do on these lines. This was intended to be a conference in which we could exchange opinions and, if possible, come to an agreement to work inside our organisations for the agreed end. Our great task is to break down the official caucus against the swing to the left which animates the rank and file, and we must find ways and means of doing it. In conclusion, Leah Manning suggested that the organising work of any future conference should still remain in the hands of the LABOUR MONTHLY, but that those who are who are willing to act with the MONTHLY should send in their names.

After the conference had unanimously agreed to a resolution pledging all those present to carry on the fight against the menace of fascism in Great Britain "by all legitimate means and ways," the conference concluded.

A retiring collection of £4 2s. 11d. was taken at the door, specially to be devoted to the expenses of organising any future conference.

III. SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

1. That protest meetings and demonstrations against the new Unemployment Relief Scales and the Slave Camps of the recently passed Unemployment Act should be organised in every locality with the co-operation of all sections of the working-class movement. In particular all delegates should endeavour to ensure that the very widest united front support is secured for the Central Demonstration against this Act in Hyde Park on February 24th.

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2. All Labour Party members to support instructions to Local Labour Party delegates to move at the next Labour Party Conference for the reversal of the Southport Conference decisions on War and on the United Front. Bring pressure on your National Trade Union Executives to send delegates to this Conference who will also support such a reversal.

3. Oppose the Black Circular issued by the T.U.C. that recommends all trade union bodies to exclude communists and other revolutionary workers from holding posts in their unions. See that a similar opposition is put up to all other Black Circulars which may reach your organisation.

4. In the Trade Unions endeavour to see that the delegates that are appointed to all conferences are those who are willing and eager to carry out the wishes of the rank and file especially as regards War and Fascism.

5. Exercise continual pressure on the B.B.C. by resolution and public protest in the Press and otherwise, if possible from your organisation, whenever its broadcasters put forward anti-working-class views.

6. Recommend to all organisations that the daily struggles of the mass of the workers, particularly on health and housing conditions, rents, wages, etc., school feeding, the attacks on the co-operatives, should all be examined and interpreted in the light of their relation to the general trend towards fascism.

7. Examine carefully all fascist arguments in order to be able to meet them amongst such of your fellow workers who may be influenced. Find out how and where the fascists are operating in your locality, expose their tactics and prevent their activities by all possible means.

8. Work in the League of Nations' Ballot on the lines of fighting against all imperialist wars.

9. Each organisation should see that similar united front delegate conferences against War and Fascism of all working-class bodies and others are called in every locality ; if possible, a committee should be elected from these conferences to centralise the work and in particular to draw up a panel of speakers to send to those bodies who did not respond to the conference invitation.

10. Such conferences should be called not merely on a local or district basis but also for specific industries and, for example, for the co-operatives. An effort should be made to see that delegates come to all such conferences, not merely from trade union bodies, co-operatives and political parties, but also from groups and committees representing the factories and the streets.

11. The LABOUR MONTHLY should consider the calling of a further conference to which delegates should come if possible mandated by their organisations.

12. To recommend to The LABOUR MONTHLY that it consider the calling of similar conferences against War and Fascism in suitable districts in other parts of the country.

13. That The LABOUR MONTHLY consider the possibility of calling a National Conference of representatives of every kind of progressive paper, national daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly, and also of those papers of a similar character which circulate locally, for the purpose of bringing home to them the latent fascist dangers involved in an increasing Press Censorship.

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